

THE ART BULLETIN

A QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY
THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

DECEMBER 1941
VOLUME XXIII
NUMBER FOUR

SUSTAINING INSTITUTIONS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor-in-Chief: MILLARD MEISS, *Columbia University*

Assistant Editor: HELEN MARGARET FRANC, *New York University*

Editor for Book and Periodical Reviews: ANDREW C. RITCHIE, *The Frick Collection*

LUDWIG BACHHOFFER
University of Chicago

ALFRED H. BARR, JR.
Museum of Modern Art

KENNETH JOHN CONANT
Harvard University

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY
Boston Museum of Fine Arts

SUMNER MCKNIGHT CROSBY
Yale University

SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN
Wellesley College

RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN
University of Michigan

WALTER FRIEDLAENDER
New York University

ROBERT J. GOLDWATER
Queens College

JULIUS S. HELD
Barnard College

HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK
Wesleyan University

G. HAYDN HUNTLEY
University of Chicago

FISKE KIMBALL
Philadelphia Museum of Art

RICHARD KRAUTHEIMER
Vassar College

DOROTHY MINER
Walters Art Gallery

ARTHUR POPE
Harvard University

CHANDLER RATHFON POST
Harvard University

DAVID M. ROBINSON
Johns Hopkins University

WOLFGANG STECHOW
Oberlin College

HAROLD E. WETHEY
University of Michigan

Subscriptions for the ART BULLETIN should be sent to the College Art Association of America at 625 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. The price of the ART BULLETIN is three dollars a number, ten dollars a year.

Contributions and Books for Review should be addressed to the Editor of the ART BULLETIN, 508 Schermerhorn Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. Before submitting manuscripts, authors are requested to consult the "Notes for Contributors" printed at the end of the March issue.

Entered as second-class matter October 24, 1925, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., and June 18, 1940, at Menasha, Wisconsin, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

THE ART BULLETIN

DECEMBER 1941

The Allegories of the Months in Classical Art DORO LEVI 251

The Madonna of the Writing Christ Child CHARLES P. PARKHURST, JR. 292

Sources and Evolution of the Arabesque of Berain FISKE KIMBALL 307

Bronze Figures of the Late Chou Period LUDWIG BACHHOFFER 317

BOOK REVIEWS

Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600* RENSSELAER W. LEE 332

Erwin Panofsky, *The Codex Huygens and Leonardo da Vinci's Art Theory*
IRMA A. RICHTER 335

William Sener Rusk, *William Henry Rinehart, Sculptor* H. HARVARD ARNASON 338

G. H. Hardy, *A Mathematician's Apology* ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY 339

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR 340

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED 340

INDEX FOR VOLUME XXIII 343

THE ALLEGORIES OF THE MONTHS IN CLASSICAL ART

BY DORO LEVI

STRZYGOWSKI's book on the famous Calendar of Filocalus, or the "Chronograph of 354," published in 1888,¹ is still considered the solid and fundamental basis for any study of figured calendars of Antiquity. Peiresc and Aleander, with knowledge and intuition admirable for their time, had almost exactly determined the meaning and the date of the original manuscript from which was derived the ninth-century copy² of the Calendar they had the good fortune to discover. Mommsen had proposed a relationship of the several manuscripts containing parts of the same Calendar; this was accepted by Strzygowski—and is denied today. The supposed achievement of the latter scholar was the understanding, through the study of all ancient monuments accessible to him, of the artistic phenomenon of illustrated calendars, the determination of their origin, and their evolution. How did he solve this problem?

The representations of the months in the Calendar of Filocalus (Fig. 1) are accompanied by a series of Latin tetrastichs in the margin and by a series of distichs at the bottom of the pages. The correspondence between verses and illustrations is very close; all the poetical conceptions in the tetrastichs are represented by objects scattered in the field, even if these have no connection at all with the main figure representing the month. Sometimes, however, there is something in the illustrations which is not described in the verses, or vice versa there is something in the verses that does not appear in the illustrations.³ The tetrastichs, once attributed to Ausonius, were considered by Baehrens to be a product of the Augustan age.⁴ From these considerations Strzygowski correctly deduced that the verses antedate the Calendar. He affirms consequently the existence of another cycle of illustra-

I am greatly indebted to Glanville Downey for correction of the English of this paper as well as for valuable suggestions.

1. "Die Calenderbilder des Chronographen vom Jahre 354," *Jahrbuch des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Ergänzungsheft 1, Berlin, 1888.

2. Recently it has been suggested, however, that the manuscript copied by Peiresc was the very original text of 354 A.D. See Carl Nordenfalk, "Der Kalender vom Jahre 354 und die lateinische Buchmalerei des IV. Jahrhunderts," in *Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhälles Handlingar*, Föl. v, Ser. A, Bd. 5, no. 2, Göteborg, 1936. Nordenfalk's arguments have been rightly refuted by Meyer Schapiro, *ART BULLETIN*, XXII, 1940, 270 ff.

3. The tetrastichs at any rate evidently refer to the illustrations of a cycle of figures: the words themselves which begin the descriptions hint at a visual activity. The description of January, for example, begins: "This is the month sacred to Janus; look how on the altars etc. . . ." "Look how May. . . ." For March, it is said: "It is easy to recognize this month cloaked in a wolf's skin"; "Behold how July shows its sunburnt limbs"; "Look how August drinks," and so on. The fact that the verses lack some details of the illustrations might be due to the poet's wish to keep to the essential and to avoid overcrowding the tetrastichs with elements considered by him as secondary. So, for example, in the tetrastich of January nothing is said

about the cock and the trefoil-shaped object which the personage holds in his hand; in that of March, about the baskets of *ricotta* (a kind of new cheese) in the field, in that of April about the pipe-organ; nothing again in that of May about the pheasant, in that of June about the torch, in that of July about the moneybag and the baskets (or bird-cages, as we shall see later), in that of August about all the objects surrounding the drinking man. In like manner, the tetrastich of September is silent about the big jars and about the basket interpreted by Strzygowski as the cushion of the owl used in bird-catching; nothing is said in that of October about the basket with mushrooms, in that of November about the image of Anubis, in that of December about the bundle of hunted birds and the leaves in the field. But vice versa, we have said, the verses contain descriptions of objects of which there is no trace in the Calendar. So in the tetrastich of April the smoke of incense-burners for the feasts of the *Cerealia* is mentioned; May is described as crowned with ears of corn; for August the bushes heavy with blood-colored blackberries are described, such as are represented indeed in one of the mosaics from Carthage; September is depicted in the shape of the harvester; in October there is an allusion to the vases full of new wine. The first two verses of the tetrastich of December hint at sowing, and at the rain with which the earth is soaked, while nothing of this appears in the illustration.

4. *Poetae latini minores*, I, 1879, pp. 201 ff.

tions, accompanied by the same verses, which would have been the prototype of our Calendar, and the archetype of most of the Roman representations of the months.

But what was the form of this original cycle? Since we cannot imagine either paintings or mosaics or reliefs accompanied by such long inscriptions,⁵ it seems probable that Strzygowski had in mind another illustrated manuscript; not only that, but a manuscript of even less monumental character than the Calendar of Filocalus. The illustrations of the former indeed ought to have contained, beside all the details of the latter, all those which do not appear there but are mentioned in the verses. The verses would prove, incidentally, no less inadequate to the illustrations of the first figured cycle than to those of the Calendar of 354; artistically, the illustrations would have been, if possible, even more overcrowded with details scattered in the space. In some cases, furthermore, we cannot conceive how the original representation would have looked because the tetrastichs not only mention objects which might have been added in a corner of the representation, but depict in the two distichs two scenes which seem to contrast with each other: for example, in the first distich December is described as a man sowing in a rainy landscape, which has nothing to do with the feasts of the *Saturnalia* described in the second distich and represented in the Calendar of 354.

As we are left with no satisfactory conception of the form of the original cycle, we will take up the whole problem again, and try to solve it by a careful examination both of artistic

TABLE A

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1. Panel of Mosaic in the Hermitage, Leningrad (Fig. 5)						—						
2. Mosaic of Antioch-on-the-Orontes (Figs. 2, 4)	—		—	—	—	—						
3. Miniature in Text of Ptolemy, Vatican Library (Fig. 3)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4. Mosaic from Carthage, Storerooms of the Trocadéro (Fig. 6)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5. Calendar of Filocalus (Fig. 1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6. Fragmentary Mosaic from Carthage, British Museum (Figs. 8-10)			—	—			—				—	
7. Mosaic discovered by Beulé at Carthage (Description)					(—)	(—)						
8. Roman Mosaic, Palazzo dei Conservatori (Fig. 7)					—							
9. Mosaic partially excavated at Argos	—	—										
10. Mosaic from Thermae, Ostia (Fig. 14)			—	—								
11. Fragment of Egyptian Sarcophagus, Golenisheff Collection (Fig. 13)	—	—										
12. Mosaic of El Hammām, Beisan (Fig. 11)				—			—	—	—		—	—
13. Mosaic of the Monastery of Beisan (Fig. 12)	(—)	—	—	—	—	—	—	(—)	—	—	—	—

5. Series of verses can be found in some mosaics, usually alone in the middle of the field or between decorative elements, occasionally also accompanying figured scenes, but in single panels and not in comprehensive cycles like those of the months. Among these inscriptions we may mention the eight verses, the last of which is a verse from the

Georgics by Vergil, in a mosaic from Corneille in Algeria (*Bull. du Com.*, 1927, pp. 475 ff.); the distich by Martial branding envious men in the mosaic from Pèbre (Var) (*ibid.*, 1919, pp. 259 ff.); the six hexameters describing Bassianus' farm at Hippo-Diarrhytus (Bizerte), *Rev. Arch.*, 1, 1906, p. 465 f.; the inscription extolling the mosaic of



FIG. 2. Mosaic Calendar from Antioch-on-the-Orontes, First Half of Second Century A.D. March-June



FIG. 3. Rome, Vatican Library: MS Gr. 1291, Ptolemy, Astronomical Text. Ninth-Century Copy of Third-Century Original



FIG. 4. Mosaic Calendar from Antioch-on-the-Orontes: Fragment, January



FIG. 5. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum: Roman Mosaic Panel, Second Century A.D. June



FIG. 6. Paris, Trocadéro Storerooms (?): Mosaic from Carthage (From a Drawing)



FIG. 7. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori: Mosaic Panel from the Esquilina, Fourth Century A.D. May



FIG. 8. July

FIGS. 8-10. LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM: FRAGMENTS OF MOSAIC FROM CARTHAGE, FOURTH CENTURY A.D.

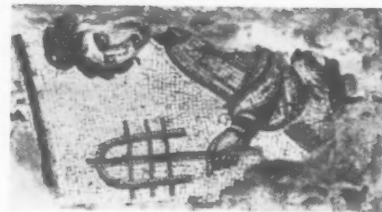


FIG. 9. November



FIG. 10. March-April

monuments and of literary tradition.⁶ Table A on p. 252 lists the monuments at our disposal for the study of figured Roman calendars, which have greatly increased in the last few years, although the material is still scanty and fragmentary. These monuments are more fully enumerated in the Appendix. We will prefix to the description of the figured representations of each month the tetrastichs and the distichs of the Calendar of Filocalus, as well as other poetic texts of calendars⁷ which may help in understanding them.

JANUARY

*Hic Iani mensis sacer est; en aspice ut aris
Tura micent, sumant ut pia tura Lares.
Annorum saeclicque caput, natalis honorum,
Purpureis fastis qui munerat proceres.*⁸

This is the month sacred to Janus. Behold how incense is burning on the altars, how the Lares receive the incense of the worshippers. It is the beginning of the year and of the age, the time when the honorary offices are assumed, when the consuls are presented with a copy of the *Fasti* bound in purple.

*Primus, Iane, tibi sacratur, eponyme, mensis,
Undique cui semper cuncta videre licet.*

To you, O Janus who gives it its name, the first month is sacred, to you who can always see all things from both sides.

The mosaic of Argos, which presents the clearest representation of this month, shows a magistrate standing near the *sella curulis*, who raises the *mappa* with the right hand in the well-known gesture, often repeated later on the ivory consular diptychs representing the start of the games. With the same hand he scatters some coins on the ground; he holds in his left hand a red book, which is too large to represent the *codicillus* of his nomination, and which may perhaps be meant as the book of the *Fasti*, the *fasti purpurati* mentioned by Apollinaris Sidonius. The figure has the characteristic elements of the proto-Byzantine dress, the linen tunic (*φαινόλης*, *paenula*) with red *clavi* and long sleeves, the shorter *colobium*,

Algiers, *Inv. mosaïques*, Algérie, no. 318; etc.

There is neither evidence nor probability of series of frescoes representing the months in classical art.

6. Almost all monuments are listed and sufficiently well reproduced in a recent and most useful book by J. C. Webster, who however accepts the current ideas of their genesis and their evolution: *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Mediaeval Art* (Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology, xxi), 1938. For the bibliography of the monuments with which we shall deal, we may refer to the Catalogue of this work (pp. 117 ff.), to which the following citations can be added: No. 2, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, II, 191 f., pl. 52. No. 6, Hettner, *Antike Denkmäler*, I, pls. 47-49; S. Reinach, *Rép. peintures*, 228; Krüger, *Arch. Anz.*, XLVIII, 1933, cols. 700 f., fig. 22. No. 8, M. A. Blake, in *Memoirs of the Amer. Acad. in Rome*, xvii, 1940, 104 f., pl. 20, 1. No. 9, H. Stuart Jones, *The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, p. 272, no. 8, pl. 107. No. 10, R. P. Hinks, *British Museum, Cat. of the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Paintings and Mosaics*, pp. 89 ff., figs. 98-105. No. 11, *Inv. mosaïques*, Tunisie, no. 752; Reinach, *Rép. peintures*, 222. No. 12, *ibid.*, 223-224; *Inv. mosaïques*, Gaule, no. 246, pls. No. 18, G. M. Fitzgerald, *A Sixth Century Monastery at Beth-Shan (Scythopolis)*, 1939, frontispiece, color-plate and pls. vi-x; for its date see also G. Downey, *Classical Weekly*, xxxiv, 1940, 43 f. No. 19, see also Kubitschek, in *Öst. Jahresh.*, VIII, 1905, 98 f., fig. 30; Reinach,

Rép. peintures, 352-353. No. 20, K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX u. X Jahrhunderts*, 1935, pl. I, 1 (better but unfortunately incomplete reproduction).

7. The most important ones are collected in a useful Appendix to Webster's book. These are: another cycle of distichs, known after the first words as *Dira patet Iani*; two eclogues contained among the works of Ausonius, one with one verse for each month and the second with two verses; a series of verses called *De mensibus* by the poet Dracontius, of the end of the fifth century A.D. To the same century seem to belong the *Officia XII mensium*, where one verse describes the activities peculiar to each month, while to the sixth century is attributed the *Laus omnium mensium*, again with a distich for each month. Occasionally we shall quote also the agricultural activities listed for each month in the *Menologia rustica*.

8. The second verse, because of the displeasing repetition of *tura*, has been judged corrupted, and variously corrected (*pia liba*; or *flamma micet*, etc.); Vollgraff however defends the correctness of the original verse. He corrects on the contrary the very obscure final verse of the manuscript: *purpureos . . . numerat* in the way we have transcribed it; this makes it much more understandable, and acceptable both for the content and for the versification, as we shall see later: see "Nieuwe opgravingen to Argos," *Mededeelingen der k. Akad. van Wetenschappen*, Afdeling Letterk., Series B, 72, 1931, 91 f.

and the usual senatorial *toga praetexta*, not the consular *trabea*. As far as the garments are concerned, the figure may be compared, not only with the ivory diptychs, but also with the two famous marble statues in the Conservatori Palace, datable between the age of Constantine and 400 A.D. The coiffure of our personage especially resembles that of the Constantinian age.

In the literary tradition the assumption of the consular office, fixed at January first by Augustus, is peculiarly connected with this month down to the last epochs of Antiquity. We read for example in the *Laus omnium mensium*:

*Fulget honorificos indutus mensis amictus
Signans Romuleis tempora consulibus.*

The month shines, dressed in illustrious garments, while crowning the temples of the Roman consuls.

Thus in the *Anthologia Palatina* (ix. 580, 1) January is described as μὴν ὑπάτων πρῶτος. Even more specific is an epigram which is seen to have been composed in Alexandria because January is called with its Egyptian name Τυβί (*Anth. Pal.* ix. 383, 5):

Τυβί δὲ πορφύρεον βουλευφόρον εἶμα τιτάνει.

January unfolds its purple senatorial dress.

And the scholiast, mistakenly attributing the senatorial dress only to the consuls, interprets: ἐν γὰρ τῷ Ἰανουαρίῳ τοὺς ὑπάτους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καθίστασαν ("In January in fact the Romans established the consuls in office").

As for the religious ceremony represented on the Calendar of Filocalus, our first thought turns to the solemnities which took place on the first day of the year on the Capitol, whither the newly-appointed consul went accompanied by his friends, wearing his new dress, to sacrifice for the good fortune of the state and of his office. Ovid admirably describes this festivity, mentioning the incense and the purple and the flames of the sacrifices.⁹ But the magistrate of the Calendar has neither consular garments nor *insignia*. The tetrastich, beside mentioning the nomination of the consuls, hints at the sacrifices to the Lares. Strzygowski's interpretation, that this is a Roman nobleman sacrificing to his familiar Lares, cannot be accepted, because these sacrifices did not take place exclusively at the beginning of January, but every month. Vollgraff consequently recognizes in this magistrate a *vicomagister* sacrificing to the Lares in the feasts of *Compitalia*, which took place in the imperial age in the first two days of January,¹⁰ and about which Festus informs us that they were dedicated to the Lares. They probably were celebrated, consequently, near the urns of the ancestors, in the same way as the similar feasts *Parentalia* and *Lemuria*. This is the reason for the presence of the urn; the rectangular base on which this rests may be the altar of the Lares. The *toga praetexta* had been granted to the *vicomagistri* by Augustus.¹¹

9. *Fast.* 1. 79 ff.:

*vestibus intactis Tarpeias itur in arces,
et populus festo concolor ipse suo est.
iamque novi praeceunt fascēs, nova purpura fulget
et nova conspicuum pondera sentit ebur.
cernis, odoratis ut luceat ignibus aether
et sonet accensis spica Cilissa focis?
flamma nitore suo templorum verberat aurum
et tremulum summa spargit in aede iubar.*

10. From January 3rd to 5th on the Calendar of 354.

11. Vollgraff proceeds further, and interprets the still

unexplained trefoil-shaped object held by the magistrate in his left hand as an apotropaic rod, similar to the wand of Hermes which sometimes assumes a similar aspect. The magic rod is often used, as a matter of fact, in order to evoke the shades. The cock itself would be an allusion to the shades of the dead: αὐτοῦ φωνήσαντος πᾶς δαίμων φεύγει. But we find it also in other representations where we cannot see any allusion to the ceremonies of the Lares. Other scholars explain it as a symbol of the beginning of the year, in the same way as the cock announces the beginning of the day. We shall return later to this topic.

The fragment of mosaic from Antioch (Fig. 4) represents for Ἀὐδυναῖος a simple figure wrapped in white, its head crowned, performing a libation: from what we have said before it is not too hazardous to recognize in it the consul, sacrificing on the Capitol, as he is described, with a wreath on his head, in the *Laus omnium mensium*.¹² But is it not even more legitimate to recognize in the figure of the Vatican Ptolemy an image of the consul appearing, even before the mosaic of Argos, in the attitude which will soon be the most usual one to represent the consular office, i.e. giving the signal to start the games with the *mappa* in the outstretched right hand, and with the characteristic scepter, surmounted by an eagle, a personification of Rome, or another similar symbol? The figure is solemnly cloaked in a *toga* with a broad hem, which may be interpreted either as the simple senatorial *toga praetexta* or as the consular *trabea*.

January appears in the fully-preserved mosaic from Carthage (Fig. 6) as a man wrapped in his mantle holding in his right hand a bifurcate object like a bare branch and in his left something which Cagnat describes as a basket full of rolls of bread. On his left, between him and December, is a cock and a branch with leaves like olive-leaves.¹³ According to Vollgraff this person might be identified with the *vicomagister* of the Calendar of Filocalus, and he would hold in his hands a bifurcate apotropaic rod and a sack full of gold coins for the presents which were granted the victors in the *ludi compitalicii*; the cock would again be an allusion to the shades of the ancestors. To us, on the contrary, this figure does not seem in any way concerned with a religious ceremony. We shall find the bifurcate stick again in other representations referring to rural works, while the object in the figure's left hand seems to us to resemble especially the sack of seeds held by the sowers more often representing December. January is a very late time for sowing; but in the *Menologium rusticum* one sort of sowing appears a month behind time in respect to the other ones, that is, the sowing of *fabae* (a sort of lima beans) which is assigned to December, while all the others are assigned to November: *fabae serentes*. We shall consequently return to this subject when dealing with December.

FEBRUARY

*At quem caeruleus nodo costringit amictus
Quique paludicolam prendere gestat avem
Daedala quem iactu pluvio circumvenit Iris,
Romuleo ritu Februa mensis habet.*

But the month wrapped in a blue mantle, who sets out to catch the birds of the marshes, and whom under a shower the multicolor rainbow surrounds, in the Roman rite performs the ceremonies of purification.

*Umbrarum est alter, quo mense putatur honore
Pervia terra dato Manibus esse vagis.*

This second is the month of the Shades, in which it is believed that the wandering Manes have access to the earth when the honors due them are rendered.

Laus omnium mensium:

*Rustica Bacchigenis intentans arma novellis
Hic meruit Februi nomen habere dei.*

12. A very similar aspect to our personage is shown by the realistic portrait of Vergil, with *toga* and short hair, in the mosaic from Hadrumetum-Soussa, about contemporary or little earlier than ours: see Gauckler in *Mon. Piot*, iv, 1897, color-plate xx.

It is probable that the effaced figure of January in the

mosaic of the Hammām of Beisan also represented a high magistrate, since "all that is visible shows that January wore a long dress of blue with purple stripes and red and yellow sandals."

13. In December, in the *Menologium rusticum* Colotianum, we read: *oliva legent*.

This month which turns the agricultural implements to Bacchus' vines, was worthy to derive its name from the god of purification.

Officia XII mensium:

Piscibus exultare solet Februarius almis.

February rejoices for the nourishing fish.

All preserved monuments, excepting the mosaic from the Monastery of Beisan, agree in the main representation of this month, which is the figure described in the first two verses of the tetrastich: a figure all wrapped in a hooded mantle, and holding in his hands the birds of the marshes, generally two ducks. If indeed the bird, described as a goose, held by the month in the Calendar of Filocalus does not exactly correspond in its aspect to a bird of the marshes, it is highly probable that the original drawing meant to represent the very creature described by the poet.¹⁴ Boots suitable for the marshes protect the legs of the male figure in the Argos mosaic. The figures in the complete mosaic of Carthage and in the Calendar of Filocalus are female. The cowed person in the Vatican Ptolemy holds an obscure object, which however does not hang like a bird by its claws. Only on the Calendar of Filocalus is the shower of rain, described in the third verse of the tetrastich, hinted at by the vase pouring water; here in the background are scattered, besides a second bird which we have said is described as a heron by the editor of the Calendar, three shells, a big fish, a cuttle-fish and an octopus—all aquatic elements, appropriate to the month of waters, dedicated to Neptune: "February rejoices for the nourishing fish." A fish is represented on the left, and a harrow, or a hoe, on the right of February in the Carthage mosaic. The hoe connects this first group with a second one, represented only by the mosaic of Beisan, where February is a figure with a girt-up tunic, setting out to work in the fields, with a dry branch, or rather a reed, in his right hand, and a hoe on his shoulder. This is a reference to the first agricultural activities of the year, the weeding and the cleaning of the new tendrils, which are mentioned not only in the late verses of the *Laus omnium mensium*, but also in the *Menologium rusticum*: *Segetes sariuntur; vinearum superficies colitur; harundines incendunt*.¹⁵ The first work on the new tendrils begins, however, only in March according to other sources: for example in the *Officia XII mensium*, the words *Martius in vites curas extendit amicas* may refer to the superficial work among the vines, besides the first pruning of tendrils mentioned in the *Menologium rusticum*. The hoe in the Carthage mosaic lies indeed between February and March.

The image of the month of February, the heart of winter, is the one generally used to represent the season of Winter itself. This is most frequently a woman, but sometimes also a man, cloaked in mantle and hood, holding either ducks or a hoe or both.¹⁶ In the famous

14. See on this topic Vollgraff, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

15. The implement is the *σκαλῖς* of the Greeks, called more usually *σκαλιστήριον*, the Roman *sarculum*, used in fact to weed plants and crops; with it the hardened soil is softened, and the harmful growths which might suffocate the crops are cut off. This is indeed the rural activity which, according to Columella (*De re rustica* 2. 12), follows sowing: *peracta sementi, sequens cura est sarrationis*.

16. Cowled women holding two or even three birds appear in a series of Pompeian frescoes (W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde Campaniens*, 998-1002; cf. *Museo Borbonico*, XII, pl. 18; XIV, pl. 32. More uncertain is the meaning of other women with birds in their laps, Helbig, 1003-1004, 1948). A bearded man with the branch or reed in his hand was painted in the Nasonii tomb (Reinach, *Rép. peintures*, 142, 3). A woman, this time nude and with a panther-skin

on her shoulders, a wreath of reeds on her head and holding the ducks and the hoe, appears in the fine mosaic of Aumale (*Inv. mosaïques*, Algérie, no. 350, pl.; Reinach, *op. cit.*, 228, 5). The cowed figure with a hoe is in other mosaics, such as one from Lambesis (*Inv. mosaïques*, Algérie, no. 181, pl.; Reinach, *op. cit.*, 227, 5. See further the monuments quoted in *Mém. de la soc. des antiquaires de France*, LVII, 1896, p. 258, note 1; the fragment of mosaic from Carthage, Gauckler, *Cat. du Mus. Alaoui*, Suppl., no. 187, etc.). The same cloaked figure with a duck in its hands can be found also on reliefs, for example on the Arch of Septimius Severus (cf. Reinach, *Rép. des reliefs*, I, 270), or on a sarcophagus in the Camposanto of Pisa (Reinach, *Rép. des reliefs*, III, 123, 1), but on sarcophagi, both pagan and Christian, we find more often the representation of Winter in the shape of a winged Genius, also holding the duck and

Trier mosaic of the Seasons,¹⁷ the cloaked Winter holds the two ducks, but these hang from a pole resting on his shoulders: this is an intermediate representation between the above figures and another image of Winter in the shape of a cowled lady carrying a much richer trophy, i.e. a duck and a hare hanging from the two ends of a pole on her shoulder, and a little boar in her right hand. This is the image on the well-known sarcophagus with the Marriage of Peleus and Thetis at Villa Albani, on a second relief in the same Villa Albani, on Campana slabs, on a glass vase from Cyzicus in the British Museum, on a fragment of *terra sigillata* in Berlin: an image belonging to a well-determined series of Seasons, the three other seasons of which, excepting Winter, appear also on a fine gem in glass paste in Berlin.¹⁸ In these last representations, in other words, Winter combines with the attributes of February also the elements peculiar to the hunter of big game, which we shall see more often attributed in the calendars to December, the month which represents not the heart of winter but its beginning.

MARCH

*Cinctum pelle lupae promptum est cognoscere mensem:
Mars olli nomen, Mars dedit exuvias.
Tempus vernum aedus petulans et garrula hirundo
Indicat et sinus lactis et herba virens.*

It is easy to recognize the month wrapped in the wolf's skin: Mars has given him the name and the spoils. The lascivious kid and the garrulous swallow, the pail of milk and the living verdure, show forth spring.

*Condita Mavortis magno sub numine Roma
Non habet errorem: Martius auctor erit.*

There is no doubt that Rome was founded under the great divinity of Mars; the month of March will be a warrant of it.

In the same way as for January the tetrastich, contrary to the distich, contains only a hint at the tutelar divinity of the month, while all the rest is a detailed description of a scene of nature: for January the Calendar offers a religious ceremony, and here a pastoral idyl, the representation of coming spring. All the elements mentioned in the verses are meticulously rendered and more or less loosely connected with the action of the shepherd, who carries a kid, and whose garment made of a wolf's skin is the only hint at the god. We notice

the bare branch (Reinach, *ibid.*, III, 27, 3, Torrigiani sarcophagus in Florence; III, 296, 1, Mattei sarcophagus in Rome; III, 475, 3, sarcophagus at Porto in Portugal; II, 57, 9, sarcophagus in Cassel; Boldetti, *Osservazioni sopra i cimiteri*, p. 466, Christian sarcophagus from the Cemetery of S. Agnese; etc.). I do not think that the cloaked figure of Winter in the fine mosaic from Pesaro in the Ancona Museum holds on its shoulders a bundle of clothing hanging from a stick, but rather a mattock or rustic hoe (P. Marconi in *Boll. d'arte*, XXVI, 1932-33, 453, fig. 10; Blake, *Memoirs Am. Acad. in Rome*, XIII, 1936, 179, pl. 44, 2). In the same way we recognize the two ducks in the folds of the garments of the cowled woman representing Winter in the mosaic of Beit Djebelin-Eleutheropolis, where in the background we find besides a half-bare tree on the one hand, and on the other an elongated vase, recalling to mind the vase pouring water in the Calendar of Filocalus (L. H. Vincent, *Rev. biblique*, XXXI, 1922, 260 ff., pl. VIII, 3; M. Avi-Yonah, *Mosaic pavements in Palestine*, reprinted from the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, II, 1932, 163 ff.; III, 1934, 26 ff., pls. I-II). The drawing in Reinach,

Rép. peintures, 411, 9, is wrong).

17. *Trierer Jahresberichte*, 1908, pl. 1; *Jahrb. d. deutsch. arch. Inst.*, XXXII, 1917, 94, fig. 65; *Arch. Anz.*, XLVIII, 1933, col. 693, fig. 20; Reinach, *Rép. peintures*, 110, 1.

18. On all these monuments see Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, II, pl. 1 and text; also Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I, 701; Helbig, *Führer*, 3d ed., II, 399, no. 1825, 436, no. 1887; Reinach, *Rép. des reliefs*, III, 139, 1; 143, 1; II, 262, 1; 480, 2; H. von Rohden and H. Winnefeld, *Die antiken Terrakotten*, IV, *Architektonische röm. Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit*, 1911, 89 ff., pl. XLVII. On mosaics representing the seasons, see Héron de Villefosse, *Gaz. arch.*, V, 1879, 148 ff.; Gauckler, s.v. "Musivum opus," in Daremberg-Saglio, p. 2119, note 10; Müntz, *Les pavements historiques du IV au XII siècle*, pp. 26 ff.; Vincent, *Rev. biblique*, XXXI, 1922, p. 275; Aurigemma, *I mosaici di Zliten*, pp. 101 ff.; M. E. Blake, in *Memoirs Am. Acad. in Rome*, XIII, 1936, 179 f.; XVII, 1940, *passim*, pl. 20, 5, 7; pl. 24, 2; Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, p. 82; Gerasa, *City of the Decapolis*, New Haven, 1938, pl. LXXXV; Matern, Mouterde, and Beaulieu, *Mélanges Univ. S. Joseph*, XXII, 1, 1939, pp. 31 ff., pls. XIV ff.

the swallows, the pail of milk, the blooming herbs; and besides, we have already said, three small baskets of *ricotta*, which are not mentioned in the verses, but which we find again in the Carthage mosaic in the British Museum, where we find also the pail of milk, the sprouting tree with a swallow between its branches, but where the shepherd is replaced by the image of a girl elegantly dressed. Much closer is the connection with the Calendar of Filocalus of the allegory in the mosaic from Ostia: here a shepherd, with a girt-up garment similar to the skin on the Calendar, proceeds to the right while playing with his right hand with a bird resting on top of a slender column; he holds in his left hand the handle of the pail, while the kid is crouching at the foot of the column. Consequently, if this mosaic is really later than the Calendar, it nevertheless does not derive from it, but approaches nearer the common original, and better preserves a monumental character, where all the elements are harmoniously used for the scene of nature, without fictitious accessories such as the window in which to place the bird. The slender column reminds us, in its shape, of the shaft of the sundial in the page of August in the Calendar of Filocalus. Except for the detail of the baskets of *ricotta*,¹⁹ the fully-preserved mosaic from Carthage also corresponds to the Calendar of Filocalus, showing a shepherd in swift motion, carrying a kid in his arms, dressed in an animal's skin and a waving mantle, at whose feet are the pail of milk and the verdant bushes. The swallow, which does not appear near the month, can be seen flying toward a blooming bush near the figure beneath the month representing the season of Spring.

In two other representations, on the contrary, the inspiration is taken no doubt from the verses of the distich, that is, from the eponymous god of the month and protector of Rome. This time the Vatican Ptolemy is quite perspicuous in its image of the warrior god, with helmet and cuirass, shield and spear, with his right hand stretched forward. No less clear is the image in the mosaic of the Monastery of Beisan, where Mars, wrapped in the broad *paludamentum*, with greaves reaching his knees, wears helmet and shield, but does not have any offensive weapons; curiously enough here too the god stretches forward his right hand in a rhetorical gesture, like a general in the *adlocutio*.

The representation of *Δύστροπος* in the Antioch mosaic is not as easy to explain. It is a female figure with a solemn dress, a wreath on her head, majestically leaning on a spear (of which the tip is distinguishable over the woman's head) and holding in her left hand a cup for the libation: the figure of a divinity, no doubt, or that of a priestess during an important religious function. As we are at Antioch, our thought runs to one of the most celebrated feasts which took place there in March, as well as to the goddess more venerated there than the Roman Mars: Isis. Even in the *Menologium rusticum* among the religious ceremonies the *Isidis navigium* is mentioned first, while the *Hilaria* of March were considered among the principal festivities in Rome as well as in Asia. To tell the truth, the identification of the goddess herself would be quite superficial; but I think we are entitled to recognize the same goddess, in an interesting scene of her mysteries, in another mosaic of Antioch, where

19. It has been questioned whence the baskets of *ricotta* originated. This time we must take the way opposite to that we have taken for February. It is perhaps from a not very usual image of the season of Spring, that this attribute, too infrequent to be described in the literary text, was derived: we find it indeed in a Pompeian fresco (*Museo Borbonico*, xiv, pl. 32; Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 975) where Spring is a girl, her head crowned as usual with flowers, holding a little lamb on her shoulder and a small basket of *ricotta* in her outstretched right hand. In the same way the graceful bust representing Spring in the mosaic of the seasons from Zliten in Tripolitania (Aurigemma, *op. cit.*,

p. 104, fig. 63 and color-plates A-B), her head crowned with quince flowers, has as attributes a shepherd's staff and two *fuscillae* of *ricotta*. A similar *fuscilla* of new cheese is carried by a boy in one of the pastoral scenes, representing milking, of the mosaic of Zliten (Aurigemma, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 f., figs. 54-55). *Fuscilla* is the little basket, generally of osier, in which the fresh cheese is put in order to let its rennet drop (see Prudentius, *Cathem.*, iii, 66 f.). It is called in Greek *ταρσός*, *τάλαρος* *πλεκτός*, *καλάθιον* or *καλαθίσκος*, popularly also *τυροβόλον* or *τυροβόλιον*. See also the fresco from Herculaneum, *Museo Borbonico*, vi, pl. 20.

she is again characterized only by a single attribute, the torch.²⁰ For the Antiochenes the understanding of what divinity was represented in a calendar for this month was quite easy.²¹

APRIL

*Contectam myrto Venerem veneratur Aprilis.
Lumen²² turis habet, quo nitet alma Ceres.
Cereus en dextra flammam diffundit odoras;
Balsama nec desunt, quibus redolet Paphie.*

April worships Venus crowned with myrtles; he has the light of burning incense, with which Mother Ceres is shining. Behold, in his right hand a candle spreads fragrant flames; nor are the perfumes lacking, which the Paphia gives forth.

*At sacer est Veneri mensis, quo floribus arva
Compta virent, avibus quo sonat omne nemus.*

But it is sacred to Venus, the month when the fields are blooming with flowers, and all the woods resound with birds.

Ausonius, *Monosticha*:

*Fetiferum Aprilem vindicat alma Venus.
Kindly Venus claims April, month of fertility.*

Officia XII mensium:

*Dat sucum pecori gratanter Aprilis et secat.
Willingly April suckles the flock and cuts the grass.*

The distich, after the usual mention of the divinity to which the month is dedicated, contains in its description the elements of full spring: the luxuriant blooming of verdant fields, which monumental iconography appropriated, however, for the month of May, the time when roses blossom; the singing of birds, with which by now all woods are resounding, on which however, artistic representations could not insist, since they had used this motive to celebrate the first reappearance of birds, at the return of swallows. No wonder, consequently, that for a group of representations of this month were chosen ceremonies of the cult of the goddess worshipped in it, Venus, of whose ceremonies the tetrastich gives a detailed description. In the Calendar of Filocalus is a person in a strange costume, with a short girt-up tunic and with sandals, holding two long castanets and dancing before a statue of Venus within a niche; in front of him is the candle, and at his feet a pipe-organ, which is unparalleled elsewhere. Again, the representation closest to the Calendar of Filocalus seems to have been the very fragmentary panel in the mosaic from Ostia: we find here the identical statue of Venus within a kind of little wood of myrtle, flanked not by candles but by two torches on the ground; in front of it an almost obliterated figure was dancing, the remaining foot of which is described by the editor as that of a little satyr (?). In the Carthage mosaic in the British Museum, it is a lady in magnificent garments who dances with her castanets

20. I discuss this mosaic in a still unpublished paper.

A crowned figure, holding a cup and a staff, represents, for example, the seated image of Cybele in the cult ceremony of a well-known Pompeian fresco; see G. E. Rizzo, *La pittura ellenistico-romana*, pl. cc.

21. An image of the same goddess, but this time identified by the peculiar "crown of Isis" on her head, holding a spear in the right hand and a jug for the libation in her left, appears among the paintings of the *Domus Aurea*: Turn-

bull, *A Treatise of Ancient Painting*, pl. 34; Reinach, *Rép. peintures*, 159, 7. Cf. also the image of Isis, with nimbus, a twig in her right hand, and a sceptre and an ear of corn in her left, in the painting from the Fayoum (*Jahrb. d. deutsch. arch. Inst.*, xx, 1905, pl. 1; Reinach, *op. cit.*, 159, 10; also L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, p. 60, fig. 40).

22. A variant: *Flamen veris, quo nitet alma Thetis* ("he has the breath of spring, with which Thetis is shining").

before what remains of a statue of Venus on a high pedestal. The dancer with castanets is specifically mentioned in the *Laus omnium mensium*:

*Sacra Dioneae referens sollemnia matris
Lascivis crotalis plaudit Aprilis ovans.*

April, bringing back the festivals of Venus, daughter of Dione, cheering applauds with the lascivious castanets.

To our surprise, however, in most monuments we find again the same representation which we have seen already used for March: the shepherd with the kid, and the attributes of coming spring. So the month of *Ἰανθικὸς* in the mosaic of Antioch is a shepherd dressed in an *exomis*, with a mantle thrown over his left arm and with bare legs, supporting a young lamb near his side with his right hand; the shepherd rests his left hand on the blooming bush nearby. The bust in the Vatican Ptolemy wears a simple shirt-like tunic well characterizing him as a shepherd; he holds in his left arm a stick, which seems adorned with leaves.²³ In the mosaic of the Hammām of Beisan is preserved the bust of the shepherd carrying the little lamb on his shoulders, as we have seen him on the images of Spring in the Pompeian frescoes, but also in the same attitude which by now had been assumed by another much more widespread image, that of the Good Shepherd. In the second mosaic of Beisan a shepherd, wearing a shirt and a short mantle over his shoulders, carries the kid in his arms near his breast, while holding with his left hand a large basket which might well be the basket of *ricotta* we have often met with. We cannot leave unnoticed the fact that the only literary mention of the newly-born kids occurs indeed for this month, quite clearly in the *Officia XII mensium*, but also in the adjective *fetiferus* characterizing April in the Eclogue by Ausonius quoted above.²⁴

MAY

*Cunctas veris opes et picta rosaria gemmis
Liniger in calathis, aspice, Maius habet.
Mensis Atlantigenae dictus cognomine Maiæ,
Quem merito multum diligit Uranie.*

See May, dressed in linen, carries in baskets all the wealth of spring, and clusters of roses with colored buds. The month was called thus by the name of Atlas' daughter, the month whom rightly Urania deeply loves.

*Hos sequitur largus toto iam germine Maius,
Mercurio et Maiæ quem tribuisse iuvat.*

May follows them, rich with all sorts of buds, who to his profit has paid tribute to Mercury and to Maia.

Dracontius:

*Prata per innumeros vernant gemmata colores,
Floribus ambrosiis cespes stellatur odor.*

The meadows full of blossoms renew the innumerable colors of spring, the fragrant bushes are studded with ambrosial flowers.

23. The roundish object in his right arm is very poorly preserved in its colors and not exactly distinguishable in its outline. It does not seem to be big enough for a kid; a white spot in the center might suggest the little basket of fresh cheese; but its shape rather points to the outline of a cup, the projecting spot on one side representing perhaps a bird on its rim: the delightful figure of *ἄρ* on the above-mentioned mosaic of the seasons of Eleutheropolis (*Rev.*

biblque, xxxi, 1922, pl. viii, 1; M. Avi-Yonah, *Mosaic Pavements in Palestine*, pls. i-ii; Reinach, *Rép. peintures*, 411, 6), her head veiled and crowned with roses, holds in fact in her hand a cup on which a little bird is resting.

24. On the fully preserved Carthage mosaic, the greatest part of the month of April is lost, and does not allow us to recognize the action and the attributes of the persons represented.

Excepting the distich, which here as often expands on the tutelar divinities of the month and only in an accidental way hints at the sprouting of flowers, all the other literary descriptions insist upon the luxurious blooming of meadows, and attribute to the month abundance of roses, in bunches, in baskets, in garlands (garlands are mentioned, for example, in the *Laus omnium mensium*). And here too all clearly interpretable monuments agree with the literary tradition. In the Calendar of 354 there is a woman (I do not know how Strzygowski can see a man in this figure) with a large basket of flowers, before a flowering bush, with a pheasant at her feet. A basket of pink flowers, evidently roses, is held by the figure of the Calendar of Ptolemy, who holds besides a small sprouting branch in the right hand. The high basket of flowers carried by the figure in the fully-preserved Carthage mosaic resembles more that in the Calendar of Filocalus; bushes studded with buds are on both sides. We have already described the profusion of flowers on the panel of the mosaic from the Aventine; here too the youth, wearing a short linen tunic, with his right hand holds a large flower to his nose to smell its perfume, as the figure in the Calendar of Ptolemy seems to do also. In the Beulé mosaic of Carthage is described "a stout boy with a brick-red face, dressed in a short tunic, and bearing a basket of flowers." Finally, the May of the Monastery of Beisan carries large flowers within the folds of his mantle. It is this attitude of the latest among our monuments which brings us back to the charming image of Spring on the series of classical monuments we have quoted before, the Albani sarcophagus, the Campana slabs, the gem of Berlin and so on. Among these the sarcophagus, however, perhaps because of a misunderstanding, shows instead of flowers a kind of round fruit, not exactly determinable, which the flowers in our mosaic also resemble.

Only one, and the earliest, of our monuments, the Antioch mosaic, provides an exception to the general rule. The figure representing the month of Artemisius (*Ἀρτεμείσιος*), unfortunately fragmentary like all the others, wears a white (or more exactly white and gray) tunic, with painted hems and ending with fringes,²⁵ above it a darker shawl in dark red and violet tonalities, and sandals on its feet; in the right hand is held a torch with the flame turned downward, and in the left hand an object resembling a vase is grasped by its base.²⁶ The attitude of the figure as well as the torch clearly indicate that we again have before us a divinity, or a personage in a ritual action. And for the month of May at Antioch, what ceremony would come straight to our mind if not the great feast called *Maiuma* (*Μαῖουμᾶς*)? Antioch, if not the place of origin, was certainly the center of this gay orgiastic festivity of Syria (*τῶν λεγομένων ὁργίων*), comparable with the mysteries of Bacchus and of Venus, and which, according to our principal source of information, took place each third year in the month of May: *ἐν τῷ μαῖῳ καὶ ἀρτεμισίῳ*.²⁷ Nocturnal processions with torches and fireworks, as well as stage representations, belonged to these ceremonies, the licentious character of which was often censured; but for these, as well as for the *Navigium Isidis*,²⁸ popular enthusiasm triumphed over reforms dictated by the moral restrictions of the new dominating religion; the feasts were indeed abolished many times, and as many, more or less explicitly, re-admitted. An edict by Arcadius and Honorius of April 25, 396, declared *ut Maiumae provincialibus laetitia redderetur*, provided that the decency of customs were respected:

25. Fringes, or *fimbriae*, are specified on the scarf dotted with stars in the description of Isis' costume by Apuleius.

26. It seems, however, to have a handle; if it had none, it might be instead of a vase a little incense-burner, or *thymiaterion*, of the type called by a German scholar "balusterförmig": K. Wigand, "Thymiateria," in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 122, 1912, pp. 79 ff., pl. IV, 121-125. See e.g.

a specimen of a small size and of a shape similar to the object of our mosaic, on the votive stele in Copenhagen, p. 82, fig. 11.

27. Malalas, ed. Dindorf, 284 f. According to the various sources, the feasts lasted from five to thirty days.

28. I deal with this feast in the paper mentioned in note 20.

decency seems not to have been respected, as three years later the feasts were again abolished. Their existence, however, is confirmed for Byzantium as late as the year 770 under Leo IV.²⁹

JUNE

*Nudus membra dehinc solares respicit horas
Iunius, ac Phoebum flectere monstrat iter.
Iam falx <lampas> maturas Cereris designat aristas
Floralisque fugas lilia fusa docent.*

Then June, with nude limbs, watches the hour on the sundial and shows that the sun has turned its course. The sickle means that the ears of corn are already ripe, and the scattered lilies that flowers are withering.

*Iunius ipse sui causam tibi nominis edit,
Praegravida attollens fertilitate sata.*

June himself gives you the reason for his name, he who raises the heavy, ripe ears of corn.

Dracontius:

*Messibus armatis flavae crispantur aristae:
Rusticus expensas et fluctus nauta reposcit.*

The fair ears of corn are waving at the passing by of the sickle. The farmer awaits the reward of his efforts, and the sailor that of his travels.

Here for the first time the representative tradition is almost entirely different from the literary one. The latter, indeed, stresses especially the ripening of crops, in some cases even harvest. June as a matter of fact is the time of harvest only in very warm countries and in the plains. The ears of corn, besides, were soon taken up as the main symbol of summer; in the groups of the four Seasons, Summer often holds a bundle of ears of corn and usually has its head crowned with a wreath of ears of corn; and June is only the very beginning of summer. No wonder, consequently, that on the calendars the ears of corn are used rather for July, and that only on one, and the oldest, among all our monuments, they certainly represent in the bundle and the wreath the attributes of this month: precisely on *Δαίσιος* in the Antioch mosaic. The first two verses of the tetrastich give a quite episodic image, the nude young man watching the sundial, which is represented only in the Calendar of Filocalus.³⁰ The young man holds a big torch, which has caused an interpolation in the tetrastich, where certainly there was no mention of this detail originally. In the field, beside a branch of lilies and a sickle, there is a basket containing fruit, not the fruit of Ceres—as Strzygowski believes—which is specifically explained as ears of corn, but the fruit of trees. Fruit is more

29. It has been supposed also that the same festival was celebrated in Christian times in the harbor of Gaza—called indeed *Μαϊουμᾶς*—under the name of "Feast of the Day of the Roses" (*ἡμέρα τῶν ῥόδων*). Several other harbors in the East have the same name, e.g., Askalon, Alexandria, etc. According to a single source (Lydus *De mens.* iv, 8) the feast would have spread to the West, and precisely as far as Ostia, where it would have taken place also in March; but the reliability of this information is doubted.

We notice, by the way, that in spite of the fragmentary state and the loose characterization of the figure in our mosaic, the white tunic and the dark mantle are elements peculiar to the garments of Isis. As for the vase of our figure, we may mention the similar one held as an attribute by the Vienna statue of the goddess (F. de Clarac, *Musée de sculpture ant. et mod.*, v, pl. 991, no. 2577; Roscher's *Lexikon*, s.v. "Isis," p. 371). A similar vase, elongated but

apparently without a handle, is held by its foot by the high priest in one of the two famous Isiac frescoes from Herculaneum (Reinach, *Rép. peintures*, 160, 7; Leipold and Regling, "Archäologisches zur Isisreligion," *Ägyptos*, 1, 1925, 126 ff., pls. 1-5; P. Marconi, *La pittura dei Romani*, fig. 108). The priest touches the vase only with his covered hand, probably because it contains the sacred water of the Nile.

30. A new representation of a similar sundial on top of a slender little column can be seen, e.g., in a mosaic from Antioch, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, II, pl. 75, no. 93, Panel C. For the sundials in the mosaics with the Seven Wise Men from Pompeii and Sarsina, their different shapes, and on the literary tradition on this kind of monuments, see Elderkin, in *AA*, xxxix, 1935, 92; Brendel, in *Röm. Mitt.*, LI, 1936, p. 11.

often used in ancient art to characterize Autumn, and the girl with a basket of fruit or with the lap of her mantle full of fruit is indeed the personification of Autumn opposed to the figure of Spring carrying flowers we have already mentioned.³¹ Notwithstanding, the first appearance of fruit, or at least of certain kinds of fruit, seems to have inspired several other representations of this month, the iconography of which remains however very vague, and differs in the various compositions. We have already described the panel of June in the Hermitage, where again we find the basket with fruit in a corner of the scene; perhaps the recommencement of fishing and the abundance of fish suggested the element dominating this panel, of which we may find a hint, in literary tradition, in Dracontius' verses.³² June holds a small basket of reddish-brown fruit in the Vatican Ptolemy; a boy with a basket of fruit "of equal dimensions in deformity" in comparison to the figure of May, is the description of this month in the Beulé mosaic of Carthage. As for the fully-preserved mosaic of Carthage, we are warned that the elongated objects the month holds in his hands and which look like birds, are not such; they resemble the elongated objects held in the same mosaic by the figure of Summer, which holds also a plate with round fruit resembling the plate of figs in the Hermitage panel, but the whole drawing is too uncertain to enable us to make a safe judgment. Even less understandable is the object held by June in the mosaic of the Monastery of Beisan, looking like a small sack containing round objects: it may be a sack of fruit or figs, but it might be on the contrary the small cage of the partridge which we shall soon mention again. The other object held by June in this mosaic is undoubtedly a small scythe, which seems to hint in all probability at the mowing of hay, the *faenisicium* mentioned in the *Menologium rusticum*. We find in this a link with the later medieval calendars, where in fact mowing and harvest follow each other for the illustrations of two months.

JULY

*Ecce coloratos ostentat Iulius artus,
Crines cui rutilos spicea sertia ligat.
Morus sanguineos praebet gravidata racemos
Quae medio Cancris sidere laeta viret.*

Behold July who shows his sunburnt limbs, his red hair tied with a wreath of ears of corn. The bushes of blackberries, happily blooming under the constellation of Cancer, offer their branches heavy with fruit.

*Quam bene, Quintilis, mutasti nomen: honoris
Caesaris, o Iuli, te pia causa dedit.*

How right you were, O Quintilis, to change your name! It was a pious reason, O July, that caused you to be dedicated to Caesar.

Dira patet Iani:

Iulius ardenti divertit lumina Soli.

July turns away his gaze from the blaze of the sun.

Officia XII mensium:

Iulius educit fruges per prata, virecta.

July flaunts the crops on the meadows, on the verdant plains.

31. In Pompeian paintings several figures of dancing girls with fruit in their laps may also represent images of Autumn: see e.g. Reinach, *Rép. peintures*, 137. In the same way may be represented Ge (*ibid.*, 411, 5; *Rev. biblique*, xxxi, 1922, pl. viii, 2). Besides the figures above quoted for painting and relief, a statuary type of a Hora is also known to us, certainly representing Autumn, with fruit and grapes

in her lap: see Amelung, *Die Sculpturen d. Vat. Museums*, II, pl. 27, 102.

32. For the plate of figs held by the boy, we may perhaps recall the figs on a golden dish presented by one of the dancing girls of the Pompeian frescoes, among which we have often found images resembling the representations of seasons: Herrmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei*, pl. 92, 2.

Excepting the distich, which merely explains the origin of the month's name, all the other poems insist on the warm weather, the ripening of the crops, and on harvest itself. This is also, we have said, the inspiring motive of the largest group of figured representations, and this gives the constant attribute to the image of the season of Summer. In Ausonius' distichs indeed July is described as the heart of summer:

*Inde Dionaeo praefulgens Iulius astro
Aestatis mediae tempora certa tenet.*

Then July, brilliant with Dione's star, occupies the fixed season of midsummer.

In the mosaic of the Monastery of Beisan July, wearing light garments, holds with both hands a bundle of ears of corn; his headdress, in a golden color, is like a wreath, which might be the wreath of ears of corn. In the Vatican Ptolemy the Month has a nude breast and holds some ears of corn in his outstretched right hand; in his left hand he holds a very damaged object looking like a little basket or a vase full of roundish fruit. Again in the fully-preserved mosaic of Carthage, July embraces with both arms a sheaf of wheat; between him and June a small cage containing a partridge lies on the ground.

But a second group of mosaics returns to the theme of fruit, or of certain kinds of fruit, which we have also seen represented for the preceding month. So, for example, the figure wearing a light tunic in the mosaic of the Hammām of Beisan, who holds with both hands some big roundish fruit among large leaves.³³ A more peculiar naturalistic subject is that dealt with in two more monuments, and which besides is described in the third verse of the tetrastich: the ripening of blood-colored blackberries on their bushes heavy with fruit. This is a subject which presents great difficulties for a clear artistic representation, and for which consequently a literary origin seems evident. Our two monuments indeed deal with it in two quite different ways, both of which would probably be incomprehensible without the poetical commentary. In the Calendar of 354, we have an entirely nude man holding in his left hand a little flat basket on which we distinguish some small sprigs of blackberries; in his right hand there is an object which has nothing to do with his general attitude, and of which there is no mention in the verses: a moneybag. Another open moneybag, where a number of coins are quite clearly shown, lies on the ground. So true is the literary origin of this representation that the artist, not daring to create a new monumental type of the naturalistic motive referring to the picking of blackberries, is obliged to draw his inspiration from an image of the god under whose special protection the month was placed (as we read in the *Menologium rusticum*), and in whose hands he now puts the attribute of the blackberries. Our nude personage obviously derives indeed from a statuary original, and precisely from a type of Hermes *πλουτοδότης*: almost identical in fact—only a little more classical-looking—is the image of the planet Mercury in another part of the same manuscript.³⁴

Obviously the poet of the tetrastichs has developed this picturesque naturalistic detail,

33. This fruit and leaves recall to mind the branch held by the boy (*παῖς ἀμφιθαλής*) who carries the Eiresione in the feasts *Pyanopsia* in the Athenian calendar with which we shall deal later: this branch has been interpreted as a branch of laurel or a branch of pomegranate tree with its fruits. But July is not yet the season of pomegranates.

34. The generic drawing of the Calendar, where the style of the original monument appears much transformed by the copyist or copyists, does not enable us exactly to determine the original itself. The Hermes from Atalanti adduced by Strzygowski does not resemble it any more than a number of other statues and statuettes, better characterized in their quality of Hermes *πλουτοδότης* (cf. Reinach,

Rép. de la statuaire, III, 41 ff., IV, 85 ff.; e.g., the statuette of the Cook collection, IV, 94, 1, or, nearer to our manuscript for the movement of the body, that of Chalon-sur-Saône, IV, 88, 1). Similar, and without the *petasos*, is Mr. A. M. Friend's statuette in Princeton (see *Burlington Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art*, 1904, B. 43, pl. 1v). Many specimens have a completely nude body, others have a little mantle on the shoulders, or on the left arm holding the caduceus which has been replaced in our drawing by the plate of blackberries. It is not easy to admit, on the contrary, the transformation from a misunderstood wreath of flowers into the moneybag, as is suggested by Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, p. 16 (see our note 2).

which was perhaps a secondary one in the artistic representation he was admiring, and which he briefly describes in the first verses. The artist of the Calendar in his turn entirely neglects all essential characteristics in the representation of July for this single detail cherished by the poet. The author of the fragmentary mosaic of Carthage neglects them even more, in so far as he omits also the detail of the nudity of the month mentioned in the first verse of the tetrastich: his image of July is indeed a richly dressed lady, gently leaning upon a pedestal and picking up berries with a pointed stick from a glass bowl laid on another pedestal. Here at least we notice above the second pedestal the blackberry bush full of fruits which was probably the detail of the original representation that inspired the verses of the tetrastich. It is very curious to notice that such a flight of fancy as that in our last monument could in its turn inspire a late poet with his image of a month, this time not for July but for June; for this month in fact the *Laus omnium mensium* celebrates the offering of blood-colored blackberries during the summer banquets:

*Sanguineis ornans aestiva prandia moris
Iunius: huic nomen fausta iuventa dedit.*

June adorns the summer banquets with blood-colored blackberries: propitious youth gave him his name.

AUGUST

*Fontanos latices et lucida pocula vitro
Cerne ut demerso torridus ore bibat
Aeterno regni signatus nomine mensis,
Latona genitam quo perhibent Hecaten.*

Look how, heated, he drinks fresh water plunging his lips into the shining glass cup, the month called by the eternal name of Augustus' reign; the month when it is said that Latona has given birth to Hecate.

*Tu quoque, Sextilis, venerabilis omnibus annis
Numinis Augusti nomina magna geris.*

You likewise, O venerable Sextilis, forever bear divine Augustus' great name.

Dracontius:

*Atria solis habet, sed nomen Caesaris adfert.
Mitia poma datat, siccas terit area fruges.*

He lives in the house of the sun, but bears the name of Caesar Augustus. He offers tender fruit, he threshes the dry crops on the threshing-floor.

Officia XII mensium:

*Augustus Cererem pronus secat agmine longo.
August bent forward mows the long rows of the crops.*

We see how the poems describing August differ widely from each other. Besides the usual tribute to the Emperor Augustus, who gave his name to the month, we return to the celebration of agricultural works, with harvest; but in Dracontius there is mention of an activity which follows the end of harvest, that is threshing. We hear again of fruit; there is insistence on the glowing heat. Unfortunately we have very few understandable monuments for this month, but all of great interest. In the Calendar of Filocalus we have again a completely nude young man, who drinks eagerly from a glass cup, as he is described in the first verses of

the tetrastich.³⁵ Around him are, however, several objects of which there is no mention at all in the tetrastich: clothing which the young man has removed, a fan of peacock's feathers, three melons and an amphora of wine six years old,³⁶ the latter indeed contrasting with the fresh fountain-water described in the verses. The only other monument distinctly showing us this attribute is the mosaic of the Hammām of Beisan: here the youth with girt-up dress holds a jug in his left hand, and in his right hand a fan, or *flabellum* (ῥίπισ) resting on his shoulder, not the fan of feathers, *περίνα ῥίπισ*, common especially in the Hellenistic age, but probably one woven with rushes; anyhow of a quite peculiar shape which begins to appear only in the fourth century A.D.³⁷

The figure of August in the Vatican Ptolemy, also with a half-naked bust, holds in its left hand two big round orange-colored objects, in which we may well recognize the above-described melons.³⁸

What surprises us most is to find again all the month's attributes which are scattered in the field in the Calendar of Filocalus and which are absent in the tetrastich, in another poem, the *Laus omnium mensium*: here there is mention of the vase, the fan, and the melons, which give relief from the glowing heat of the month:

*Augustum penitus torret Phaetontius ardor:
Quam recreant fessum gillo flabella melo!*

The sun's ardor terribly burns August; how much relief to his fatigue do the jar of wine, the fan, the melon give!

We cannot imagine that this late poet was inspired by the Calendar or by a similar representation derived from it; it suffices to notice that such a scattered representation was little fit to inspire any poetical description; furthermore all these objects are spread there in the field, as a mere commentary to the verses, and do not give any relief to the thirsty man. Two of these attributes, on the contrary, appear in the mosaic of Beisan in relationship with the figure of the month. Here too, consequently, the painter of the Calendar of Filocalus was inspired by the verses only for his principal figure, but derived all the other details scattered around in the field from an artistic representation which has nothing to do with the verses, indeed introducing them by force into his representation in spite of the silence of the verses. From the same original composition were derived also other monuments which we have already compared with the Calendar of 354, such as the *putti* representing the warm season on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, where we find also the melon and the cup of water.³⁹

35. His attitude has recalled the painting by Pausias in the *tholos* of Epidaurus described by Pausanias (II. 27, 3; see Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, III, 248; cf. also Paus. VI. 24, 8) where Methe, that is Drunkenness, was represented "drinking out of a crystal goblet: in the picture you can see the crystal goblet and the woman's face through it."

36. In order to understand the debated origin of this amphora, we may compare for example the very interesting though fragmentary mosaic of the seasons from Sbeitla (Fig. 16) (*Bull. du Com.*, 1910, p. cxcvii, pl. LXX; *Inv. des mosaïques*, Tunisie, no. 338, pl.) signed by its author "autor Xenofontas," where Summer was represented by a nude youth with a bundle of ears of corn surrounded by two amphoras, lying on the ground, of a quite similar shape to our vase.

37. One of the earliest monuments where it can be seen, borne by a slave near his mistress, is a gilded glass of the Vatican Library; other *flabella* of this category have been discovered at Akhmīn, and are represented also on the consular diptychs: see Fougères, s.v. "Flabellum," in Daremberg-Saglio, II, 2051; Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionn. d'arch. chrétienne*, s.v. "Flabellum," V, 2, p. 1612. A specimen is represented also in the Carthage mosaic of *dominus Iulius* which we shall mention later (*Bull. du Com.*, 1921, pl. XII, p. 100 and p. 110, note 1).

38. The attributes in the drawing of the large Carthage mosaic cannot be identified.

39. See Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, p. 18, fig. 13. On the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus see Friedrich Gerke, *Der Sarkophag des Iunius Bassus*, Berlin, 1936, pl. 33.

SEPTEMBER

*Turgentes acinos, varias et praeseecat uvas
 September, sub quo mitia poma iacent,
 Captivam filo gaudens religasse lacertam,
 Quae suspensa manu mobile ludit opus.*

September cuts off the turgid grapes of all kinds; on the ground, ripe fruits are lying. He is amused by the wriggings made by a captive lizard which he holds hanging from a thread.

*Tempora maturis, September, vincta racemis
 Velate e numero nosceris ipse tuo.*

O September covered with veils and with your temples adorned with ripe grapes, your name will be explained by your own number (in the order of the months).

Laus omnium mensium:

*Aequalis Librae September digerit horas,
 Cum botruis captum rure ferens leporem.*

September divides the hours in equal parts on the scales, while carrying from the country the captured hare together with clusters of grapes.

Here all literary texts agree in the description of vintage and of fruit. It is now the beginning of autumn, and this Season itself, we have seen, has as its own attributes grapes and vine-leaves, which often adorn its temples—as is described in our distich—as well as the basket of fruit, or the fruit in the folds of the garments. The *Menologium rusticum*, which attributes vintage to the following month, characterizes September with its fruit: *Dolea picantur, poma legunt*. The first element ("the vats are bedaubed with pitch") describes indeed the activity immediately preceding vintage, that is, the preparation of the jars in which to put the wine next month. Elsewhere, on the contrary, there is already reference to the pressing of wine, as in Ausonius' distich: "September, who soaks the presses with Bacchus' gift." Only the *Laus omnium mensium* introduces a new detail, the capture of the young hare, which we shall see to be more characteristic of the following month. Grapes and fruit are the theme of all other poems, which consequently it is useless to quote. Most of the figured monuments are divided between these elements.

In the mosaic of the Monastery of Beisan September, now wearing a scarf besides the short tunic, holds in his right hand a big bunch of grapes and in his left a small basket. He is evidently returning from vintage. Much more picturesque is the image in the Vatican Ptolemy, where the month, like a vintager returning from the vineyard, holds on his shoulders a rough pole, the tips of which are bent by two enormous grapes hanging from them. September holds a high basket with fruit in the fully-preserved mosaic of Carthage, and a shrub at his right seems clearly to show vine-leaves; the same basket of fruit, and grapes, characterize Autumn in this mosaic. Only the mosaic of the Hammām of Beisan, unexpectedly, shows a rustic scene of a quite different kind: a farmer returning home from the fields holding with his left hand a cock hanging by its feet, and supporting on his shoulder with his right hand not a basket but a peculiar jug, decorated with horizontal channelings, of a kind still used in Palestine to keep the water cold. In this scene perhaps the merry return from the country after the toils of vintage is depicted.

The tetrastich, after the generic elements, again introduces in the last two verses an unusual motive which, however, becomes the main subject in the Calendar of Filocalus: the nude male figure, wearing only a little mantle thrown like a scarf across his body, holding the writhing lizard hanging on a thread. In his other hand he holds (by its bottom) a basket,

from which five sticks with heads are rising. At his feet are the upper parts of two big jars, or vats, a hint at the must which would ferment within, and which are mentioned in the *Menologium*; another hint of vintage is perhaps the two large vine-leaves in the field. An identical representation of the upper part of two large vats, above which the vintagers merrily pressing the grapes are represented, appears in the scene of vintage in a fine mosaic from Caesarea-Cherchel (Fig. 17).⁴⁰ In the upper corner of the calendar-picture another flat basket contains figs, piled up in two groups, in the same way as nowadays—Strzygowski says—they are exhibited on the seller's bench and offered "six for one cent." But the main figure is not directly inspired, as he believes, by another popular scene which also can be noticed often in Italy, the playing with the captive lizard. It is again, on the contrary, a divine image which represents here in a symbolical way grapes, vintage, and the month: it is an image of Bacchus, the god of grapes and wine—an image which in its turn was indeed originally inspired by the realistic motive of the popular game, but where the realistic motive, as in so many other images of classical antiquity (such as the Apollo Parnopios, probably also the Apollo Sauroktonos) has been used for a specific symbolical aim. We are enlightened on the original motive by an extremely interesting mosaic (Fig. 15) recently discovered at El-Djem, ancient Thysdrus in Tunisia, where the god appears in the same attitude, accompanied by his panther, with an undoubted apotropaic purpose, for which numberless other talismans are introduced in the mosaic around the central figure.⁴¹

OCTOBER

Dat presum leporem cumque ipso palmite fetus

October; pinguis dat tibi ruris aves.

Iam bromios spumare lacus et musta sonare

Apparet; vino vas calet ecce novo.

October offers you the captured hare and the grapes within vine-leaves; he offers you the fat birds of the fields. One can see already the fermenting must foaming and rumbling in the vats. Behold, already the jars are warm with new wine.

Octobri laetus portat vindemitor uvas:

Omnis ager Bacchi munere dives ovat.

The merry vintager brings grapes to October; all the fields exult, full of Bacchus' fruit.

40. *Bull. du Com.*, 1921, pl. 1; M. Durry, *Mus. de Cherchel*, Suppl., pl. xiv. See also the central episode of vintage among the fine allegories of the seasons painted in the Praetextatus Cemetery (Wilpert, *Le pitture delle catacombe romane*, Rome, 1903, p. 33, pl. 33).

41. Merlin and Poinssot, *Mon. Piot*, xxxiv, 1934, pl. ix, and p. 155, fig. 5. See on this topic my observations in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III, 1941, 231 f.

The editors of this mosaic go much further than the simple comparison with the statuary type; they believe that the strange object on the left hand of the figure in the Calendar likewise has a similar magic purpose; that it is not a cushion with limed sticks where the owl would sit to lure birds, but a pointed crown often represented among the usual prophylactic symbols or by itself. Putti hold a lizard hanging from a thread, and have in the other hand a big cluster of grapes above the rim of a jar, on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus and on other similar Roman sarcophagi (see Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, p. 17, figs. 10-11).

But to return to the main figure, the Calendar of Filocalus is not entirely isolated. We may take up again, indeed,

not another image of a month, but a representation of Autumn in a cycle of the seasons, and precisely in the mosaic, already mentioned, of Sbeitla in Tunisia (Fig. 16). We have examined Summer in this mosaic when studying the iconography of August. Autumn is a nude man, wearing across his breast what seems to me to be rather a wreath of flowers and tendrils than a mantle. In his left hand he holds a very damaged attribute (a thyrsus? or a cluster of grapes?); with his right he holds up by its tail a serpent, another prophylactic animal much more widespread and generally understandable than the lizard. If there is not also in this mosaic an indistinct or misunderstood representation of a lizard, we may deduce that the lizard, more characteristic of autumn, was intentionally replaced by the artist with a serpent for a clearer understanding (see my paper on the Evil Eye in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III, 220 ff.). Finally we may mention a winged standing Genius holding up a lizard on a string, in the mosaic, unfortunately still unpublished, of the calidarium in the Baths of Djemila (Ballu, *Bull. du Com.*, 1910, p. 106; *Inv. des mosaïques*, Algérie, no. 291).

Ausonius, *Disticha*:

*Et qui sementis per tempora faenore laetus
October cupidi spem fovet agricolae.*

October, gladdened with the season's usury for seedling grain, who flatters the grasping farmer's hopes.

Officia XII mensium:

Elicit October pedibus dulcissima vina.

October presses under his feet the very sweet wine.

Laus omnium mensium:

*Conterit October lascivis calcibus uvas
Et spumat pleno dulcia musta lacu.*

October enjoys pressing the grapes under his feet, and the sweet must foams in the full vats.

Again vintage is celebrated, the only activity which we have said is mentioned in the *Menologium rusticum*; but more often there is reference to the subsequent activity, the pressing of the grapes in the vats. The hunting season opens, and the capture of hares and birds is described: but for the moment hunting is mentioned only in the tetrastich, while the hare, we have seen, has already been spoken of in September. Finally, sowing begins to be mentioned;⁴² this is the activity of October also in the later fragmentary poem of the eighth century *Martius hic falcem*. But in the monumental iconography of Antiquity, sowing will be the object of the following months; vintage has been attributed to September, often with hints at the making of wine: so that on the few understandable monuments preserved to us, only the capture of the hare is adopted from the topics of the poems for the representation of this month. The Calendar of Filocalus represents a youth, still nude and with a statuesque body, a broad mantle floating on his shoulders, raising the hare in his right hand and holding in his left an elongated basket, in which Peiresc has recognized the trap for the hare itself.⁴³ Another high basket on the ground at the right and a wide flat basket in the field apparently contain mushrooms; on the left there is a bundle of rods, perhaps the limed sticks for the capture of birds, a net, a small object hanging from a thread and looking like a small cage, and above it a big bird with a hooked beak which has been interpreted as a hawk. In the large Carthage mosaic, too, a figure holds up a hare by its hind paws, not above a basket but above a vase, which probably suggests the new wine.

In two better-preserved monuments, the figures of October have different objects not mentioned in literature or not clearly understandable. In the mosaic of the Monastery of Beisan a peasant with his shirt girt up has a stick in his right hand and holds with his left hand a kind of little round basket hanging from a rope at his shoulder, from which the tufts of a plant seem to rise. In the Vatican Ptolemy a figure plays a long horn: he recalls the shepherd holding or playing a horn while grazing his flock, for example in the representation of Summer in the mosaic of *dominus Iulius* at Carthage (Fig. 19).⁴⁴

42. Likewise Ausonius in his other eclogue says concerning the same thing in one verse: "October enriches the fields, lending them the corn of the seeds."

43. A hare peeps out of a basket, perhaps its own snare, in the panel of a mosaic with still-lives and eatables from Rome in the Vatican (see B. Nogara, *I mosaici del Vaticano e del Laterano*, pl. xxvi, 12). We may mention other panels of the same mosaic representing mushrooms, cooked with

pork (pl. xxv, 12), and melons (pls. xxv, 5 and xxvi, 10).

44. *Bull. du Com.*, 1921, pl. xii. Cf. also the shepherd with a horn and perhaps also with a basket of new cheese, in the mosaic of the Constantinian villa of Antioch, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, II, pl. 62, no. 87, Panel A; and the agricultural scenes in the mosaic from Orbe, *Inv. des mosaïques*, Gaule, no. 1380, plate.

NOVEMBER

*Carbaseos post calvus atrox inductus amictus
Memphidos antiquae sacra deamque colit,
A quo vix avidus sistro compescitur anser
Devotusque satis (or sacris?) incola Memphideis.*

Then the fierce, bald priest, wearing linen clothes attends the cult of Isis in ancient Memphis; from him with difficulty the greedy goose is kept away by his sistrum, and the pious Egyptian devoted to the ceremonies of his country.

*Frondebis amissis repetunt sua frigora mensem,
Cum iuga Centaurus celsa retorquet eques.*

The leaves having fallen from the trees, the month grows cold again, when the horseman Centaur turns back the high pole of his chariot.

Dracontius:

*Pigra redux torpescit hiems; mitescit oliva,
Et frumenta capit quae fenore terra refundat.*

Winter, returned, lazily grows numb; olive trees grow ripe and the earth receives the seeds, which one day it will give back with usury.

Excepting the tetrastich, all the other poetical descriptions, out of which we have cited only a couple, describe the return of winter, sowing, the ripening of olives. Sowing wheat, which we have already noticed sporadically mentioned by the poetical descriptions of October, is the principal activity of November in the *Menologium rusticum: Sementes triticae et hordiariae* (seeds of wheat and of barley). In the *Officia XII mensium* there is reference only to an activity following the making of wine, that is the filling of the cellars with wine, and locking them up. But in the *Laus omnium mensium*, "November with the plough upheaves the clods of earth fecundating the fields, while the big olives already feel the weight of the turning mill-stone which presses them." The tetrastich, on the contrary, is wholly dedicated to the description of a picturesque religious ceremony: the solemn feasts of Isis, which took place at the beginning of November, to which only the Isiac celebrations of March were equal in importance, and the impression of which at Rome would evidently remain the dominating feature of the whole month. In the *Isia* of November the dramatic character of the legend of Osiris was stressed; the anxious search by Isis for the corpse of her husband, a quest in which she was helped by Anubis—a priest with a mask in the shape of a dog's head; after the mourning came the jubilation for the finding of the body, which was expressed by the words: *εὐρήκαμεν, συγχαίρομεν*.

A group of calendars borrow for their representations of November a scene from these Isiac celebrations. In the Calendar of Filocalus we see the priest of Isis, wrapped in his sacerdotal mantle, holding in his right hand the sistrum and in his left hand the serpent of Isis on a plate, facing an image of Anubis, that is, a dog's head upon a high pedestal; the goose, frightened by the sound of the sistrum, runs away at his feet. Five fruits of pomegranate scattered in the field are the only hint of the natural events of this month, of which there is no mention in the tetrastich.⁴⁵ Peiresc has already compared to this representation the similar one carved on a metal pipe, published by Lorenzo Pignoria in his work on the

45. I agree with Peiresc ("i pomi granati, che sonno buoni in quel tempo"), rather than with Strzygowski who sees in them an allusion to fertility connected with the myth of Isis. If they were really connected with the religious ceremony, they would have been put in some relationship to the representation, as all other symbols are,

instead of being scattered inorganically in the field, as we so often find in the Calendar the elements probably deriving from literary sources or from heterogeneous monuments and which have nothing to do with the main representation. Moreover, the pomegranate is an attribute of the cult of Cybele rather than of Isis.

famous *Mensa Isiaca*, or *Tabula Bembina*: there too a man, wearing a silver garment well corresponding to the white linen of the verses, holds a sistrum and an Isiac *situla*, and bends over a goose at his feet. The sacred goose, furthermore, can be seen in front of Osiris with a bull's head, in a Pompeian fresco.⁴⁶ In the mosaic from Carthage in the British Museum only a fragment of a priestess of Isis, wrapped in her dress and holding a sistrum in her right hand, is preserved: here the artist has chosen the more usual motive of the priestess, for the religion was renowned for the large participation of women in the administration of the cult as well as in devotion.⁴⁷

A bird near the feet of the person representing November on the fully-preserved mosaic from Carthage has been interpreted as a goose hinting at the cult of Isis; but although the objects he holds in his arms are rather mysterious, the whole representation looks like an agricultural scene rather than a religious ceremony, and the meaning of the bird remains uncertain: we may remark that a quite similar bird appears in this mosaic also near the figure of Autumn.⁴⁸

It has rightly been shown to be out of the question, on the contrary, that the object held in the left hand of the month in the Vatican Ptolemy should be the plate with the serpent of Isis, as had been suggested in order to connect this image with the preceding representation: it is a small reddish object kept tight in the fist, and cannot be more precisely identified. But the right hand of the same figure holds without any doubt a bird of prey, probably a hawk: a belated hint at the hunting of birds, which we have seen mentioned in literature and represented in art for October. We may add here that, if a hawk is really present, we must recognize in the original of this monument the first antique representation of hunting with the falcon, preceding both the Calendar of Filocalus and the mosaic of Argos.⁴⁹ The same belated representation of hunting seems to be the subject of this month in the mosaic of the Hammām of Beisan: here the figure seems to hold on his shoulder a bundle of limed rods for fowling, rather than a torch which would have no meaning in this place; the green cloth floating nearby might represent a net. More mysterious is the object the youth holds near his breast with his left hand, shaped like a truncated cone, which has been identified as a brazier, or a basket, or a trap for hares. We might have, however, a quite different subject, that is a sower with his sack of seeds, the most appropriate image for this month according to the texts, which we have not encountered on the monuments but which we shall meet in the allegories of the following month. Finally, the objects held by Novem-

46. Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 1106. The animal is mentioned also in literary texts in connection with the goddess and her cult: the priest would require of pious ladies an offering of a fat goose, and of a cake, if they wanted to find grace by the goddess (see Juven., *Sat.*, 6, 526 ff.; for the worship of Isis by Roman ladies, also Tibull. 1. 3, 23 ff.). Inscriptions mention other costly offerings to the goddess: for example the rich donation by a lady of Tarracona (*CIL*, II, 3386) includes silver sistra, cups and metal serpents inlaid with precious stones. The indistinguishable objects on the plate held by the priest of the Calendar might be, instead of lotus-leaves—since fruit is already represented in the field—the cakes, fit to be presented on a dish, but perhaps misunderstood by the copyist: although sacrifices of flowers to Isis are also attested. From the Isis festivals was derived the attribute of the lotus-flower adorning the forehead of the bust of Autumn in the mosaic from Tor de' Schiavi (see *Mem. Am. Acad. Rome*, XVII, 1940, 108 f.).

47. The gesture of her left hand has been interpreted as a proof of the presence of a goose on the ground.

48. The objects our month is holding look in the drawing like the bundles of fruit or flowers monotonously repeated in this mosaic; but we cannot think of flowers as a characteristic of November: the only flowers connected with the month, if any, might be the pomegranate flowers which might be meant in the bush on the right of the figure. On his left are branches resembling branches of olive-trees, which also are very common in the mosaic, but which would be suitable for this month. It might be that branches of olive-trees full of ripe fruit are also the objects held by the figure in his arms.

49. On hunting with the falcon see Vollgraff, *op. cit.*, note 15, pp. 103 ff.; P. Friedländer, *Spätantiker Gemäldezyklus in Gaza*, Città del Vaticano, 1939, 113, n. 1. In literature, the first author exactly to describe a hunt with the falcon in the Occident is Paulinus of Pella, at the end of the fourth century A.D. On more rudimentary forms of hunting with a bird of prey, known also in earlier times, but not before Pliny the Elder, see Lafaye, *s.v.* "Venatio," in Daremberg-Saglio, p. 693.

ber, who spreads a mantle behind his shoulder, are quite incomprehensible in the other mosaic from Beisan.⁵⁰

DECEMBER

*Annua sulcatae conectens semina terrae
Pascit hiems: Pluvio de Iove cuncta madent.
Aurea nunc revocet Saturno festa December:
Nunc tibi cum domino ludere, verna, licet.*

Winter, collecting in the furrows of earth the seeds of the annual sowing, makes it fertile. Everything drips with rain. Now December may dedicate again its merry feasts to Saturn (i.e. may again celebrate the *Saturnalia*): now, O slave, it is granted you to play with your master.

*Argumenta tuis festis concedo, December,
Quale sis quamvis annum claudere possis (?)*

I leave to your festivals, O December, to describe you, although such as you are, you bring the year to a close (?).

Dracontius:

*Algida bruma nivans onerat iuga celsa pruinis,
Et glaciale gelu nutrit sub matribus agnos.*

At the fall of snow frost covers with ice the summits of the mountains. In the freezing cold the little lambs suckle beneath the sheep.

Officia XII mensium:

More sues proprio mactat December adultas.

December in its own custom slaughters the grown sows.

On the one hand the merry feasts of the *Saturnalia*, on the other rain and cold, are the elements inspiring the verses. In the tetrastich there is still mention of the consequences of the accomplished sowing; we have already said that in the *Menologium rusticum* there is reference to a belated sowing, that of *fabae*. Sowing, on the contrary, which we have recognized even in a representation of January, is the subject of the clearest among the preserved representations of December, that of the Monastery of Beisan. The sower holds in his left hand the characteristic wide sack full of seeds, which he scatters to the ground with his right hand, in the same way that peasants still sow in the Holy Land today.⁵¹

50. It may be that he also holds in his right hand the net for birds, and with the left hand, resting on his shoulder, the limed rods with large heads for catching birds. But the supposed net resembles in its outline also a summary sketch of the bundle of hunted birds we shall meet directly below; and the curved stems near the shoulder might suggest also flowers or fruit, such as pomegranates, or might be a rustic implement.

51. We know the term given by the Greeks to the sack of seeds, made of skin: θύλαξ or θύλακος (δείξαμενον δὲ τῇ Κορίνθῃ, γελάσασα ἐκείνη "τῇ χειρὶ δεῖν" ἔφη "σπείρειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὄλῳ τῷ θυλάκῳ," Plut. *De gloria Athen.* 4, 348A). Sometimes in Antiquity instead of the sack a basket was used, called by Hesiod φορμός (*Op. et d.* 483; Lucian, *Diss. ann.* Hes. 6: φορμός πυρῶν). The receptacle for seeds carried by the sower in the panel of sowing and ploughing (the twenty-fifth of the series) in the mosaic of S. Romain-en-Gal, indeed resembles rather a little basket than a sack. But if we have correctly recognized as a sower the figure of January in the Carthage mosaic, the implement he holds in his right hand leads us to the interpretation of the figure of December in the Vatican Ptolemy: here we see the same bifurcate stick, like a bare branch. We might think of a branch for grafting trees, since very similar indeed are the branches used in the panel representing this operation in

the mosaic of S. Romain-en-Gal mentioned above: but this panel—which is precisely the fragmentary panel ix—is included, according to nature, among the agricultural activities of spring. Roman poetry comes to our rescue for the interpretation of the object we are dealing with: as soon as the seeds are sown, we are informed (Virg. *Georg.* 1. 119 f.; 156), it is necessary to cover them to prevent birds from eating them; an operation which is accomplished by means of a little hoe, or a wattle of thorny branches. The term of the hoe used for this purpose is also preserved: it is the μακέλη, or μάκελ(λ)α, a little hoe with one edge, but which may have also two edges according to Hesychius (δικελλαν πλατελαν). This sometimes seems to be used also before sowing: Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος τῷ Νεῖλῳ . . . παραδίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὰ σπέρματα, πρὶν ἢ τὰρότρῳ ζεύξῃ βοῶν, πρὶν τέμῃ ἀβλακα, πρὶν πονήσῃ μαχ[έλλῃ]. But already in Hesiod (*Op. et d.* 469) we have the fine image of the little servant following the sower and covering the seeds to protect them from the birds: δμῶς ἔχων μακέλην, πόνον δρνίθεσσι τιθεῖν/σπέρμα κατακρύπτων. From what was said before, we believe we can recognize in the bust of the Vatican Ptolemy the figure of a sower, his hand opened in the act of spreading the seeds, and holding on his shoulder the bifurcate branch used to cover them.

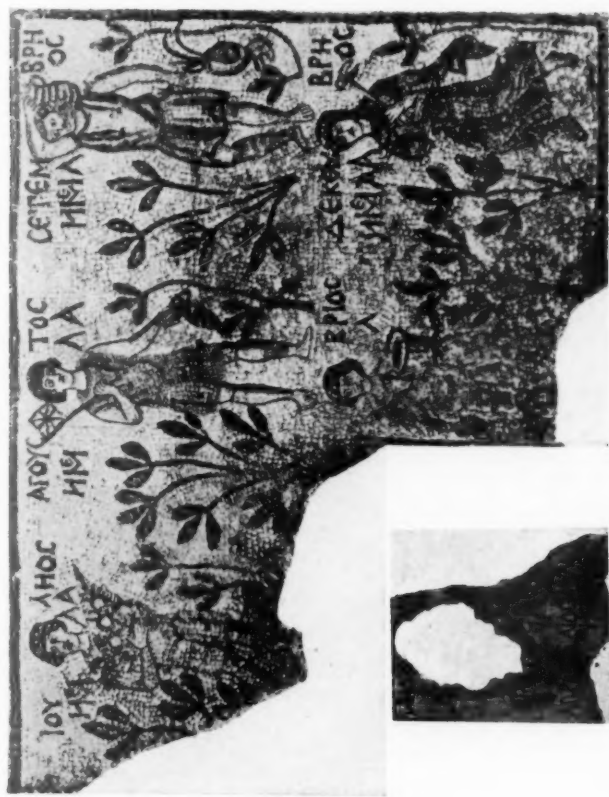


FIG. 11. Fragments of Mosaic from "El Hammâm," Beisan, Palestine, Sixth Century A.D. July-September, November-December

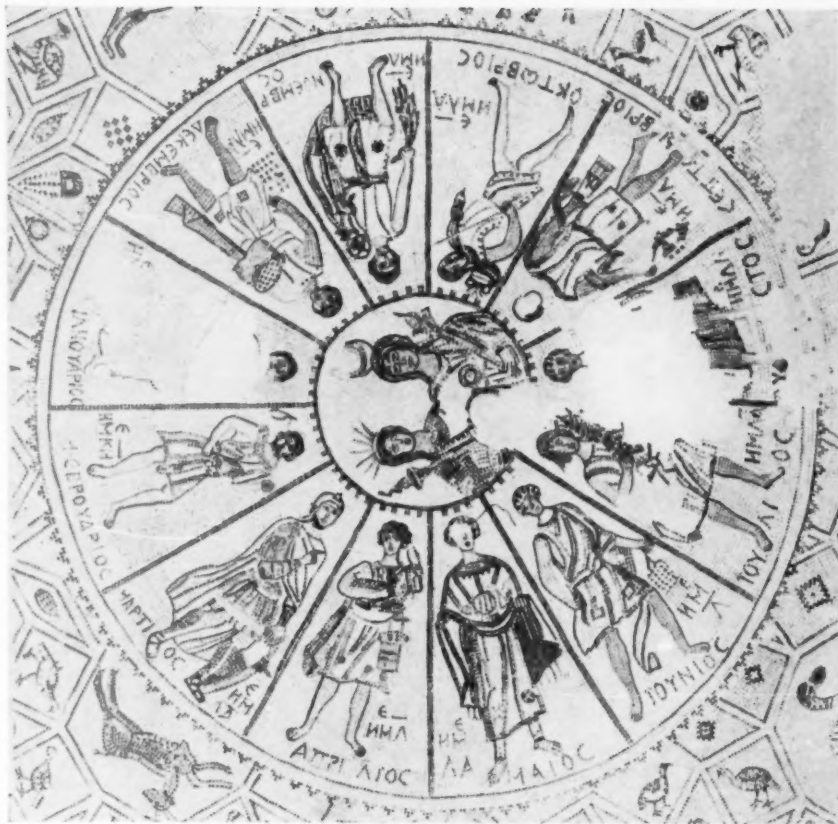


FIG. 12. Mosaic from Monastery of Lady Mary, Beisan, Sixth Century A.D.



FIG. 13. Leningrad, Golenisheff Collection: Fragment of Sarcophagus, Fifth Century A.D.

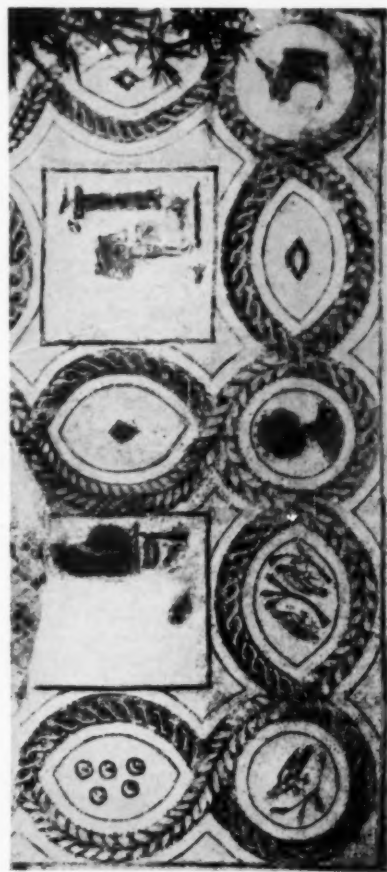


FIG. 14. Ostia, Museum: Fragment of Mosaic, Fourth Century A.D. March-April



FIG. 15. Detail of Mosaic from El-Djem, Bacchus



In the other mosaic from Beisan, December is represented by the cloaked woman, a fold of her mantle covering her head like a scarf, resting on her shoulder a weeding-hook with two teeth; she may also hint at sowing, but more probably she is nothing else but the usual image of Winter, and of February, which we have already described. As in the other cases the season here would lend its iconography to the month which initiates it, or vice versa. This is the explanation of the insistence of literary descriptions on frost and snow. With another monument, the fully-preserved mosaic of Carthage, we return to the representation of a hunter, whom we have met also characterizing October, though his activity was attributed to this month by the *Menologium rusticum*. December, wearing a short tunic and high boots, energetically proceeds holding a basket and the limed rods on his shoulder, and with a bundle of hunted birds in his outstretched right hand. Winter is represented as a hunter on a series of monuments we have already quoted. We may mention furthermore some imperial coins, such as those of Commodus dedicated to the *Temporum Felicitas*, where the Seasons, this time in the form of putti, hold the same attributes as on the larger monuments. But on other coins with the same motive, struck by Commodus and Annianus Verus,⁵² the putto of Winter does not hold the usual bird hanging by its feet and the harrow, but a hare in his left hand and a stick resting on his right shoulder, from which seems to hang a bundle of thrushes.⁵³

Finally the main scene in the Calendar of Filocalus, leaving aside all naturalistic elements, draws its inspiration only from the feast of *Saturnalia*: here is the slave, but wearing the winter garments of the shepherd or rather of the hunter, skin-boots and a short skin-cloak around his breast; he holds a torch and plays dice, which are visible on a little table near their characteristic tumbler, called *pyrgos*. Another hint at the festival is a mask high up in the field on the left. The leaf-shaped objects below on the right are difficult to interpret; on the corner above is hanging the bundle of thrushes which we have seen in the hunter's hand in the Carthage mosaic, and which brings us back to the hunting activity pursued in this month.⁵⁴

The discovery of the mosaic of the Monastery of Beisan enables us exactly to interpret and to add to our series of calendars the fragment of a relief, known for a long time but hitherto not correctly understood. This is the fragment of a sarcophagus of the Golenisheff collection at Leningrad, brought from Egypt and made out of Egyptian limestone (Fig. 13).⁵⁵ Two figures, with their heads adorned curiously enough by a nimbus, undoubtedly are the months of January and February.⁵⁶ The figure on the left has the girt-up tunic of a peasant

52. H. Cohen, *Descr. hist. des monnaies... impériales*, Paris, 1880-92, III, 169 and 325.

53. Also Roman classical poetry associates snow and cold weather with hunting, providing us with a link between our various artistic representations and at the same time with a suggestion of the models which inspired the authors of our literary cycles of the months. So e.g. Horace *Epod.* II. 29 ff.:

*At quum tonantis annus hibernus Jovis
Imbres nivesque comparat,*

*Aut amite levi rara tendit retia
Turdus edacibus dolos.*

"But when the wintry season of thundering Jove brings rains and snow, with his pack of hounds one either drives fierce boars from here and there into the waiting toils, or on polished pole stretches wide-meshed nets, a snare for greedy thrushes, and catches with the noose the timid hare and the crane that comes from far—sweet prizes!" (Transl. Loeb Classical Library.)

54. We shall mention only in passing the unusual image of Winter in the fully-preserved mosaic from Carthage, that is a man with a large basket of fruit which from its color may be recognized as oranges.

55. Strzygowski, *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde*, XII, 1898, 5 ff., fig. 2. It was a sarcophagus with arcades, whose architectural elements, capitals and cushions sustaining them, provide us with an approximate dating in the fifth century A.D.; in each space between the arcades is a star. Only two arcades are preserved, with figures which have been interpreted as two seasons, namely Autumn and Winter. We may incidentally remark that with four figures the sarcophagus would have been exceedingly short, and that we ought to admit besides the seasons other figures of a different character.

56. It is probable that the sarcophagus was decorated also on the short sides, because otherwise it would be too elongated in comparison to its height.

The representation of the months each within an arcade remains a favorite one in medieval art.

engaged in work in the field; he has bare arms, and holds with his left arm an object which may well be identified from its horizontal striations as a basket rather than a sack. But it is not a basket full of fruit or flowers, which would be indicated above the rim; it is the *φορμὸς πυρῶν*, the basket of seeds which the peasant has scattered around on the field from the open palm of his outstretched right hand. All the space beneath this arm is indeed full of seeds, indicated as a matter of fact by little strokes disposed with geometric regularity, but in a way not dissimilar from that of the seeds in the mosaic from Beisan.⁵⁷ The second figure wears a heavy dress, with long sleeves clinging to the arms and with a cloak clasped around the neck, the folds of which form the vertical striations near the left side of the figure, which do not resemble the strokes of the seeds in the other panel. The personage wears, besides, the high and heavy hunter's boots used in winter. He holds two ducks hanging from the top of a pole which rests on his shoulder, and in his left hand a bundle of fish: he is February, the only month in which we have found both the water birds and fish, of which the poems also speak. Consequently the preceding month, which might be either December or January, must be interpreted as the latter month.⁵⁸

In order to reach more easily the conclusions of our study, we present in tabular form all images of the single months we have analyzed above. At the top appear those from the poems: 1) the tetrastichs, 2) the distichs, 3) the other poems; and for each month, beneath the main subjects is added a list of the various attributes included in its representation. The subject of each allegory is distinguished by a letter; the corresponding letter recurring below denotes its attributes. The arabic numbers following the phrases refer to the monuments enumerated in Table A and described in the Appendix.

TABLE B

JANUARY	MARCH
1)-2) Ianus bifrons Lares, tura, consuls, magistrates a) magistrate 2, 3, 5, 9 b) sower 4, 11 a) libation; mappa and scepter; incense-burner, cinerary urn, cock; fasti b) sac of seeds, hoe	1) Mars; pellis lupae aedus petulans, garrula hirundo, sinus lactis, herba virens 2) Roma 3) Isidis navigium e) Isis? 2 f) Mars 3, 13, (Tegea) g) shepherd with kid or lamb 4, 5, 10 h) woman in vernal landscape 6 g) vase with milk, swallow, baskets with <i>ricotta</i> h) <i>id.id.</i>
FEBRUARY	APRIL
1) Februa caeruleus amictus, paludicola avis, iactus pluvius, Daedala Iris 2) Manes 3) first works of vines, segetes sariuntur, vinearum superficies colitur c) wrapped figure with duck (3), 4, 5, 9, 11 d) peasant with hoe 13 c) fishes, cuttle-fish, polypus, bird, water; hoe d) dry branch?	1) Venus contexta myrto Ceres (or Thetis?) flamen turis, cereus, balsama 2) flores, aves 3) Fetiferus Aprilis g) shepherd with kid or lamb 2, 12, 13 i) cult of Venus 5, 6, 10 g) leafy branch; baskets of <i>ricotta</i> i) castanets, candle, organ, flute

57. For reasons of symmetry or because of a misunderstanding, the sculptor has also filled with strokes the space beneath the basket on the other side of the figure.

58. One might ask why, if we have here the first two months of the year, the arcades continue on the left, where there must have been other figures before January. But the Egyptian year begins, indeed, in the Alexandrian as

well as in the successive eras, with the month of Thoth, corresponding to about September in the Julian calendar (more precisely with the last days of August): see F. K. Ginzel, *Handb. d. Chronologie*, 1, pp. 224 ff. We shall soon see how the provincial calendars each followed its own New Year's day in the disposition of its months.

TABLE B (Continued)

MAY	SEPTEMBER
<p>1) Maius liniger opes veris, rosaria in calathis</p> <p>2) Mercurius, Maia</p> <p>3) Flora</p> <p>j) priest? with torch and vase 2</p> <p>k) personage with flowers 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 13</p> <p>k) basket and blooming branch; smelling flower, flowers in folds of mantle; bird</p>	<p>1) praesecat uvas mitia poma captiva lacerta</p> <p>2) tempora vincta racemis</p> <p>3) Libra; botrua, lepus dolea picantur, poma legunt</p> <p>s) figure with grapes 3, 12, 4?</p> <p>l) figure with basket of fruit 4?</p> <p>t) figure with lizard 5</p> <p>u) figure with jar of wine and cock 11</p> <p>s) basket (with figs?)</p> <p>l) vine nearby</p> <p>t) plate with figs, grapes, barrel of wine basket with limed rods for bird-hunting?</p>
JUNE	OCTOBER
<p>1) Iunius nudus, horae solares falx (or lampas), aristae maturae, lilia fusa</p> <p>2) sata praegravida</p> <p>3) messes</p> <p>l) figure with fruits 3, 4?, 7, 13?</p> <p>m) figure with ears of corn and crowned with ears of corn 2</p> <p>n) figure in front of solar clock 5</p> <p>l) plate with figs, basket with fruit basket with crabs, fishes, cuttle-fish</p> <p>n) basket with fruit torch sickle, branch of lilies</p>	<p>1) lepus, fetus cum palmite aves ruris lacus et musta vas, vinum novum</p> <p>2) vindemitor</p> <p>3) semens elicit pedibus vina vindemiae sacrum</p> <p>w) hare- and bird-hunting 4, 5</p> <p>x) shepherd playing the flute 3</p> <p>w) vase with new wine the trap for the hare? limed rods for bird-hunting, birds, baskets with mushrooms?</p>
JULY	NOVEMBER
<p>1) artus colorati spicea sarta, morus</p> <p>2) Iulius Caesar</p> <p>3) fruges, fontanae exhaustae, sol, Nilus</p> <p>m) figure with ears of corn? 3, 4, 13</p> <p>o) figure with pomegranates? 11</p> <p>p) figure picking or holding blackberries 5, 6</p> <p>m) cage with partridge</p> <p>o) bags of money baskets, or cages for birds?</p>	<p>1) priest of Isis, sistrum, anser</p> <p>2) frondes amissae Centaurus</p> <p>3) oliva, frumenta</p> <p>w) bird-hunting 3, 11?</p> <p>y) cult of Isis 5, 6 (4?)</p> <p>w) goose, pomegranate flowers?</p> <p>y) goose, pomegranates</p>
AUGUST	DECEMBER
<p>1) Augustus, Hecate fontani latices, pocula</p> <p>3) secat Cererem gillo, flabella, melo</p> <p>q) drinking man 5</p> <p>r) man with fan 12</p> <p>l) man with melons 3</p> <p>q) fan, jug, melon</p> <p>r) jug</p>	<p>1) sowing cuncta madent Saturnalia, verna</p> <p>2) Festa</p> <p>3) faba serentes item venantur</p> <p>b) sower 3?, 12</p> <p>c) winter 11</p> <p>w) hunter 4</p> <p>z) verna 5</p> <p>b) sac of seeds, hoe?</p> <p>c) hoe</p> <p>w) bunch of killed birds, hunting-bag, limed rods for catching birds</p> <p>z) bunch of birds; dies; torch; theatrical mask; leaves (of vine?)</p>

Thus through a minute and attentive analysis of the preserved monuments, we have obtained a comparatively clear picture of the genesis and the development of the figured calendars.

First of all we must exclude the term "personifications" of the months. We may speak of "allegories," of "representations" of the months; but personifications, with a fixed iconography for each single month, have not appeared, and do not exist in classical Antiquity. We have met with the same representation used in different calendars for two and sometimes even three different months, lent sometimes to the representation of a season or borrowed from the usual representation of a season. The repertory of the allegories of the months is entirely composed of scenes referring to the most characteristic events of each single month, which may be divided into two main categories: religious feasts, in their turn represented either by the divinities presiding over the feasts or by ceremonies of the cult; and civil events, mostly referring to life and activities in the country, but sometimes represented also by genre episodes, by some picturesque details of life which may recall to mind the month when they happen, such as the picking of blackberries or even the presentation of plates with blackberries in summer banquets.

It is time to say a few words about the unique and famous popular liturgical calendar left us by Greek art, and precisely by the last phase of Greek art, since it belongs in all probability to the second or to the first century B.C.:⁵⁹ this is the relief which has for centuries adorned the façade of the so-called "Little Metropolitan Church" of Athens, the old Παναγία Γοργοεπήκοος now dedicated to St. Eleutherios (Fig. 18). For a long time there have been recognized on it various representations referring to the principal feasts of the Attic calendar, separated from each other by the signs of the Zodiac, and moreover by four figures which Svoronos has correctly interpreted as the images of the four seasons. Of these, three are preserved to us, namely: Autumn, a winged female figure with soft garments, carrying a plate or a little basket with fruit; Summer, nude, with sickle and ears of corn; Winter, a bearded man wearing boots and a flapping mantle.⁶⁰

59. It has, however, been dated variously from the third century B.C. to the third A.D.

60. But the learned and imaginative Greek archaeologist has gone much farther, by recognizing in each figure of the relief the image of a *Hora*, a season, month or part of a month or a week of the year. Where a ploughman alluding to the Bouzyges and to the feasts of Zeus Georgós in the month of Maimakterion had been correctly recognized, he sees a personification of Ἀπὸρος and Ἐρπός, the time of ploughing and sowing; in the figure of Herakles, he sees a personification of the "season of the apples," in that of the βουκόλος, the season of the glowing dog-days; in the figures attributed to a representation of the feasts *Lenaia* in the month of Pyanepsion, he sees the images of Τρύηρος, the gathering of grapes, and Φέρονσα, harvest. Other figures are identified by him as the *Horae* whose names are offered us by Hyginus (*Fabul.*, ed. M. Schmidt, p. 36, chap. cxxxxiii), namely the nine daughters of Zeus and Themis, Auxo, Carpo, Thallo, etc., "concerning whom however other authors mention ten names, Auge, Anatole, Musice, Gymnastice . . ." and so on. Finally a figure in each panel of a month, which he remarks is placed always at the beginning of the panel, and remains entirely immobile and not participating in action, is interpreted by him as the personification of each month. This interpretation has generally been accepted; but it has been, I think quite correctly, remarked (see Riegl, "Die mittelalterlichen Kalender-illustrationen," in *Mitth. des Inst. für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, x, 1889, 12 f.) that these personifica-

tions of the months, without any attribute distinguishing them from each other, personifications without any mythological, allegorical, or artistic content, would be foreign to Greek thought and art. As a matter of fact the figures are not so immobile and passive as Svoronos affirms. Some of these mysterious personages, such as figure no. 38 of Svoronos (no. 30 of Deubner and Webster) directly participate indeed in the ceremonies, namely in the *Great Panathenaia*, holding a wreath in the left hand; the same may be said of figure no. 1, whose object in the left hand is very damaged, but seems to be a cup of libation. It is much more probable that they are the images, so frequent in the repertory of Greek art, of assistants, regulators of the ceremonies, worshippers, who may in different ways represent the crowd, or the Athenian people, or a special category of men charged with special functions. Indeed, near some of these supposed personifications of months, at least in three of the most important ceremonies, we can remark the presence of a second figure, which consequently has been interpreted as the *θεωπία*. The fact that the figures precede the representations of the months, may be due to a simple aesthetic criterion: thus, together with the signs of the Zodiac which follow each panel, they include in the center of the panels the main scenes more specifically representing the months themselves. In any case, even if we would admit that these figures were personifications of the months—and considering the Athenian Calendar chronologically at the head of all the others—they might be connected only with the late representations we have

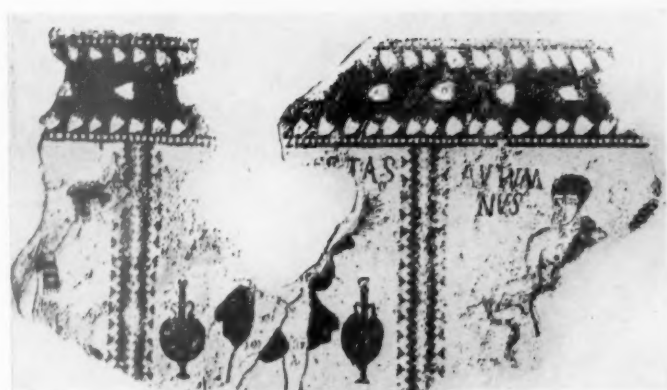


FIG. 16. Tunis, Bardo Museum: Mosaic Fragments from Sbeitlan, The Seasons



FIG. 17. Cherchel, Museum: Mosaic Fragment, Vintage Scene

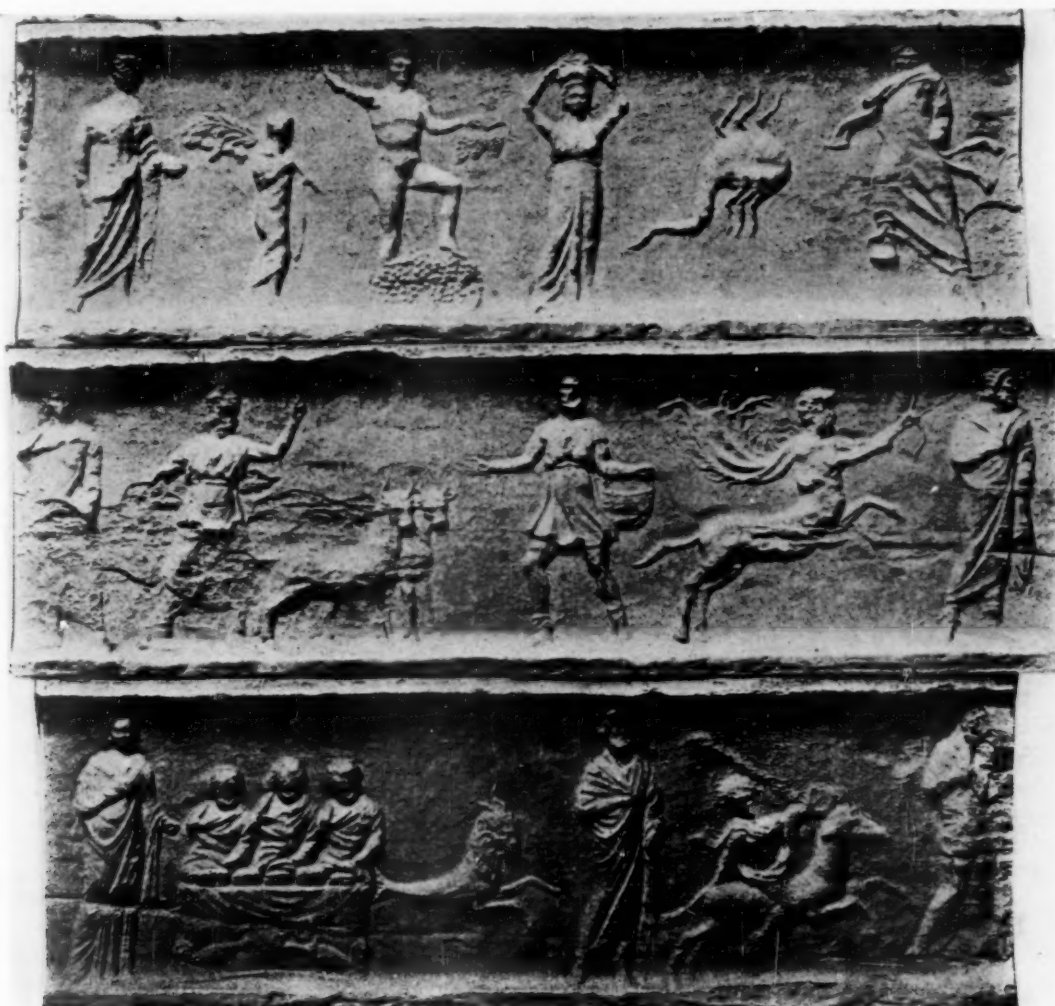


FIG. 18. Athens, Little Metropolitan Church: Detail of Façade Relief, Liturgical Calendar, Second to First Century B.C.



FIG. 19. Mosaic from House of Dominus Julius, Carthage: Genre Scenes, Fourth Century A.D.



FIG. 20. Tunisia, Musée Alaoui: Mosaic from Chebba, Poseidon and the Seasons



FIG. 21. Venice, Bib. Marciana: MS Gr. D XL, Gospels, Eleventh Century. The Months

We must remark above all that our allegories of the months seem in some cases to find direct forerunners in the illustrations of the events of the months on the Attic calendar. This relationship is immediately evident in the images of the seasons which we have already described: the winged running woman with a plate of fruit for Autumn recalls to mind many other images of Autumn we have mentioned before, especially the Pompeian frescoes of Seasons and Bacchantes we have spoken of when dealing with June; Winter has often appeared to us as a cloaked personage, more usually a woman but occasionally also a man, with or without other attributes; men or putti with sickle and ears of corn are the most usual representation of Summer. Moreover, the figure with grapes who alludes to the feasts of *Oschophoria* in the month of Pyanopsion (October–November), is the same we often find later on representing September. In Attica, however, vintage takes place generally in October, when grapes, as is the tradition also of the ancient geponists, give better wine.⁶¹ The same personage is busy at the same time pressing grapes to make wine, an activity mentioned in the poetic descriptions of the months. The sower near the Bouzyges in the month of Maimakterion (November–December), holding his basket of seeds under his arm and sowing with his outstretched right hand, is the identical figure which we have found as late as the mosaic of Beisan. The cock-fight in the Poseideon, that is in December–January, strangely enough recalls the cock we have found between December and January on another monument, where it has been interpreted as a symbol of the beginning of the year. The man, perhaps representing a winning actor, who is dragging a kid to sacrifice in the feasts of the *Dionysia* of the City taking place in the month of Elaphebolion (March–April), reminds us of the shepherd carrying or supporting a newborn kid in various figurations of March and April.

On the Athenian calendar all representations refer to religious ceremonies; but we have seen that intrinsically they contain elements depicting the conditions of nature in each month, that indirectly they illustrate agricultural or other human activities. It is obvious that, even if we can confirm a direct contact between the Greek representations and the Roman calendars, the latter were bound to abandon all details referring to Hellenic religious ceremonies which were foreign to Roman life. Moreover, the naturalistic element was bound to find an impulse to impose itself increasingly on the very tendencies of Roman art which, in the path of Hellenistic art, accentuates and cherishes more and more idyllic and realistic elements. How can there be a question of a reluctance of Roman art to represent agricultural and rural activities when, besides the representations of single episodes of life, besides the introduction of works of the fields even into the official Roman coinage as early as in Mark Antony's coins, we also find at a very early date real cycles of human activities for the whole course of the year? Much earlier than the interesting cycle we have already mentioned in the mosaic of S. Romain-en-Gal, another series of nine scenes of rural activities is partially preserved to us in one of the earliest and best mosaics of Roman Africa, which cannot be dated later than the beginning of the second century A.D., and which comes from the luxurious Roman villa of Zliten in Tripolitania.⁶² From another cycle, also of a very good period and composition, found at Caesarea-Cherchel in Algeria, admirable scenes of

already mentioned, of generic "conceptions" of months, without any individual content, in which a human figure of any kind is identified with a month merely by its name; they would have no relationship to the representations of months in the Roman monuments we have examined above.

61. See Svoronos, *Journ. internat. d'archéol. numismatique*, II, 1899, 50, n. 2.

62. Aurigemma, *op. cit.*, pp. 74 ff., figs. 45 ff. Much earlier, scenes of vintage, of wine-pressing and olive-gathering, are frequent on the Campana slabs of the best period; here, however, satyrs and fauns replace real farmers. See von Rohden and Winnefeld, *Die antiken Terrakotten*, IV, 1911, 60 ff.

ploughing, sowing, and labors in the vineyard are preserved.⁶³ From among numberless single scenes of nature, we have mentioned above the effective representation of vintage in another mosaic from the same town. In another fine African mosaic of the early second century A.D., from Shebba, scenes of human activities and signs of the Zodiac are used almost as a commentary to the allegories of the seasons (Fig. 20).⁶⁴ When we come to the fourth century A.D., in the admirable mosaic of Carthage we have already mentioned, we find a still more characteristic example of how the realistic scenes, stylized into allegories of the months, are again introduced as naturalistic episodes in a unified composition, depicting in all its aspects life in *dominus Iulius'* rich farm (Fig. 19).⁶⁵ On the other hand, the fragmentary mosaic of Catania, which we have cited at the beginning of our study, shows us how at about the same time the realistic content of the representations of the months could be subtracted from them, leaving only general and meaningless abstractions which can be identified merely by the inscribed names of each month. Here indeed a bust without attributes or individual characteristics represented each month in its panel; but in another panel beneath the bust, it seems that an attribute or a larger picture preserved a reminiscence of the realistic scene which originally depicted the same month.⁶⁶

Our considerations regarding the Athenian calendar also offer by themselves the reasons for the variations in the representations of the months we have noticed in Roman calendars. These variations can be explained by criteria, so to speak, a) of a logical character; b) of an aesthetic character; c) geographical; d) historical-antiquarian. First of all, in fact, certain

63. Gsell, *Promenades archéologiques aux environs d'Alger*, p. 40 f., pl. 4; *Arch. Anz.*, XLVI, 1931, col. 463 ff., figs. 1-2.

64. *Inv. des mosaïques*, Tunisie, no. 86, color-plate; Gauckler, *Mus. Alaoui*, Suppl., p. 24, no. 292, pl. xvi, 2 (Fig. 20). The Seasons are placed, among vegetable garlands, at the corners of a square containing in the center a circular panel with Poseidon's triumph: Spring is a half-nude, crowned girl, within a garland of roses, on a blooming meadow, holding a basket of roses and with a rose in her right hand; at her sides are a dog on a leash and a boy also carrying a basket of flowers. Summer is a nude woman within a garland of ears of corn, with ears of corn on her hair and bearing sheaves of corn in her arms, between the lion of the Zodiac and the vintager bent over his basket of grapes lying on the ground. Autumn indeed recalls vintage, but through the myth: she is a Maenad crowned with vine-leaves, within a garland of tendrils, her mantle across her sides, holding a thyrsus and pouring wine from a kantharos with her right hand; on her left is the Dionysiac panther, on her right the hunter carrying two baskets with game hanging from a pole which rests on his shoulder. Winter is the cloaked woman carrying two ducks, also hanging from a pole on her shoulder, her hair adorned with reeds, and surrounded by a garland of reeds; on her left is a boar, on her right a man reclining while gathering olives.

65. Merlin, *Bull. du Com.*, 1921, pp. 95 ff., pl. xii; *Arch. Anz.*, XLVI, 1931, col. 497, fig. 14. In the central panel, at the sides of a picture of the villa itself, we see the proprietor's favorite sport, hunting. In the upper panel the lady of the house sits in the park, fanning herself with a *flabellum* of the type we have already met with on our calendars, while fruit lies within range of her hand. Two episodes of life in winter and in summer are represented on the two sides. On the left, a servant, all wrapped in his garments, returns from hunting in the marshes bringing two live ducks to his mistress; on his head are reeds, with which he had covered himself in order to deceive the creatures. Farther away are two boys beating the branches of a big olive-tree and gathering olives, while a woman

carries a basket full of them to her lady. On the right is a seated shepherd watching his flock while playing his horn, in front of his hut; a woman carrying to her mistress a newborn lamb recalls to mind another episode appearing in the allegories of the months.

The activities belonging to spring and autumn are in the third panel of the mosaic, below. On the left is again the *domina* of the farm with a maid, engaged upon her toilette; she leans on a pillar, her legs crossed, in an attitude immediately recalling the image representing March in the calendar from Carthage in the British Museum. A maid bringing her a basket of roses, between rose-bushes, is the symbol of Spring; but a boy lays down fish at her feet, such as we have found in the panel of June in the Hermitage. At the right, *dominus Iulius* sits in the orchard between trees full of fruit, and a neighbor's slave brings him a letter and a present of two cranes; in the corner a vintager returns from the vineyard with a basket full of grapes on his shoulder and a captured hare in his left hand. Briefly, in this effective picture, which tries to link together in a single view the activities of the four seasons and to let us forget their temporal separation, no less than eleven or twelve episodes of life can be noticed which are elsewhere used to symbolize the activities of the months of the year, but without any attempt to define each single month more precisely.

So large was the diffusion of genre representations in Roman art, that some were introduced even into the decorations of tombs: such are, e.g., some paintings of the African necropolis of Hadrumetum, one of which represents a scene in the tavern, or *caupona*, and another perhaps illustrates an agricultural activity we have often met with, namely, the unloading of a cart returning from the gathering of olives: see S. Reinach, *Bull. du Com.*, 1892, pls. xxix-xxx1.

66. A cock was placed beneath January; a marine landscape beneath February; a bird on a paling remained from the picture of spring for April; some pods are mentioned beneath May, and a basket with flowers and cups beneath June.

human activities cannot be strictly limited to one month; they can embrace two or three months, while within one month there may be more than one important activity. In this case too—as generally—we must admit a greater freedom than is usually granted the artist in the choice of the subject which he likes better or suits him better.⁶⁷ Moreover, agricultural works are not simultaneous in all countries; they differ between Rome and Greece, between Greece and Syria, between Italy and Africa. If Greek religious ceremonies of the Athenian calendar had to be replaced by Roman ones on Roman calendars, certain feasts peculiar to Rome were likewise unknown in Syria, where others were more popular and understandable. The historical and realistic tendencies of the Roman spirit and art were bound indeed to produce, besides the agricultural episodes and scenes from nature we have stressed before, scenes of a religious and ritual character as well: for this category too we are in a position to adduce an example among the early Roman mosaics, in the *emblema* of the Villa Borghese.⁶⁸ Furthermore, feasts, of course, have also changed through history. Important in this last category of historical-antiquarian criteria, is the difference of calendars in the various countries. We have seen that the Athenian months do not correspond to the Roman ones, and each contains parts of two different Roman months; consequently if a certain allegory was transferred from the former to the latter, it could be used for two different months. Moreover, within the Roman Empire itself, the difference of calendars doubtless was important in the differentiation of their representations.⁶⁹

67. When the artist has liberty of choice, furthermore, the choice is primarily dictated by aesthetic criteria: if for example an artist had to choose for November between the figures representing ploughing and sowing of the Athenian Calendar, it is obvious why, for a cycle where the allegories had to be as much condensed as possible, he would have chosen, rather than the ploughman who requires also the presence of oxen and plough, the single figure of the sower suitable for a synthetic and immediately comprehensible image. We shall soon allude to other criteria of this category.

68. Herbig, *Röm. Mitt.*, XI, 1925, 289 ff., Beilage XII. This represents a peculiar sacred ceremony of the Collegium of the Salii in honor of Mars Ultor, explained to us by Servius' commentary to the Aeneid (VII. 188), during which the priest used to strike an animal's skin with rods (*pellem feriunt ad artis similitudinem*). It is obvious, however, that such a ceremony would not have been characteristic and important enough to be adopted even by the Roman calendar itself.

69. In this order of ideas a rôle is also played by the distribution of the months among the different seasons, especially in the circular illustrated calendars. For a better understanding of the following observations we present on page 281 a graphic scheme of the preserved monuments of this group.

Among the five preserved calendars with a radial scheme, three are surrounded by a square and have the figures of the seasons in the spaces between the circle and the square, so that three months are attributed to each season. Out of the five the oldest, that of Antioch, turns clockwise, and all the others in the contrary sense. Months could be attributed to the seasons either according to astronomical rules, or according to criteria of convenience, which means starting the seasons with the beginning of the year. So, e.g., the fragmentary calendar of Carthage begins from the bottom with January; in the Vatican Ptolemy, January begins the cycle from the upper semicircle on the right, suggesting a similar division of the seasons. In the fully preserved calendar of Carthage the assignment of the months to the seasons is not so exact, because if we draw a vertical diameter of the circle it cuts the figure of January

below; this, however, is turned toward February, and we may suppose that the dividing line of the two halves of the circle was imagined between the two figures, attributing January to winter. Thus spring would begin with February, May is assigned to summer, and so on. Here, more than anywhere else, the criterion of distribution seems to be directed by convenience and aesthetic reasons: in this way indeed in the center of each season is represented the month which has the most perspicuous characteristics of the season itself; December, in the hunter's garments, is in the center of the sector of winter, March carries the kid in the center of spring, September, possibly with the basket of grapes, is in the center of autumn. But in the two last mosaics, the influence of the Macedonian calendar on the distribution of the months is clear: a calendar, originally consisting of lunar months, which, incidentally, also influenced the composition of the Athenian frieze, causing its beginning with Pyanopsion (October–November) rather than with the beginning of the Attic calendar in Hekatombaion (July–August). Δῖος, corresponding to October–November, is in fact the first month of the Macedonian year. The calendar of Antioch, while adopting the names of the Macedonian calendar, caused the duration of the months to coincide with the dates of the months on the Julian calendar: so that Δῖος corresponds to November, and Τρεπσεραῖος to October, with which the Antiochene year begins. Other calendars of Syria and Palestine, on the contrary, continued to consider Δῖος the beginning of the year, following the Macedonian tradition: this is the case of the Syrian year according to Kubitschek ("Kalenderstudien," in *Öst. Jahresh.*, VIII, 1905, 98 ff.), who bases his statement especially on the analysis of the mosaic from Kabr-Hiram we have often mentioned; he has even drawn the scheme of a supposed original round composition, from which the distribution of the panels in the rectangular mosaic would derive. We have thought it might be instructive to include this imaginary scheme in our table. (On a change in the calendar of Antioch at the end of the fifth century A.D., when the beginning of the year was transferred from October 1 to September 1, see G. Downey, in *Transactions and Proceedings of the Am. Philolog. Association*, LXIX, 1938, xxxiv.) But Δῖος lasts in this calendar from November 18

We have noticed conspicuous differences between the monuments of the eastern and those of the western provinces of the Empire, as to the calendars, the beginning of the seasons, and the choice of the subjects. If we examine the distribution of the subjects on our Table B, we notice a frequent concordance between the monuments of Antioch, Beisan, and the manuscript of Ptolemy, in opposition to the monuments of Rome, Greece, and Africa.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, can we really divide our calendars—as has been done—into two distinct groups, an eastern and a western one? Let us sum up the affinities and the differences of the subjects.

For January, the eastern and the western groups agree in the ritual representation; two monuments, an eastern and a western, form exceptions, showing a scene from nature, sowing, which in one or two eastern monuments is used also for December.⁷¹ The agreement is complete for February, always represented as the cloaked personage symbolizing Winter, mostly holding the ducks or the harrow, while only in a mosaic of the eastern group has the month a girt-up peasant's garment and a harrow. For March, from the monuments examined thus far, we should admit a clear division: a religious scene in the eastern group, a scene of nature, and especially the episode of the shepherd with the kid, in the western; this last subject is adopted, on the contrary, for April in the East, while this month is represented in the western group by the ceremony of the cult of Venus. There is again absolute concordance between the two groups for the image of May, where we find perhaps the most popular motive, the figure with a basket of flowers; only the Antioch mosaic departs from the general type, depicting a religious scene. The motive of fruit for June is not so well determined as that of flowers for May, and is dealt with in quite dissimilar episodes. Only in one eastern mosaic, at Antioch, do we have the motive of the ears of corn, which is more common, both in the eastern as in the western group, for July. The motive of fruit, or of some special kinds of fruit, in its turn is carried on in some representations of this last month. In August, the one main idea of burning heat is dealt with in quite different themes in all monuments. Grapes are the evident motive of September in two eastern monuments, but vintage is suggested by the image of Bacchus with the lizard in the Calendar of Filocalus. Hunting and the capture of hares and birds, which are the dominating motives for October in the western monuments, are again belated in the eastern group, where they appear in November; for this month the western group has again a religious subject, the feasts of Isis. If it is correct that in the earliest oriental monuments, such as the Antioch mosaic, Isis was celebrated in other months, it is understandable why this representation of Isiac feasts in November had to be dropped in these monuments. December has various subjects, in which either the theme of cold weather and of the sport of hunting, or agricultural works are

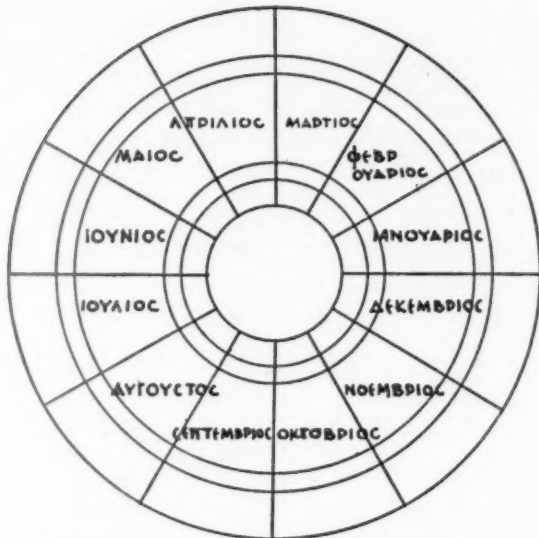
to December 17; so that, starting for convenience the winter-season with the beginning of the year, to winter are attributed November–January, and so on: the same distribution of the months which we have already met in the complete calendar of Carthage. Which criterion, finally, has the mosaicist of Antioch followed? The year cannot begin in this mosaic either with *Ἐπεφειράιος*, the beginning of the Antiochene calendar, or with *Δίος*, the beginning of the Macedonian year in various other Syrian calendars, because these occupy respectively the second and third places of a quadrant. If the year begins with autumn, according to the Macedonian custom, the cycle starts with *Γορπύαιος*—September, if with winter, according to the Roman custom, with *Ἀρελλαῖος*—December. Here consequently the criterion is an astronomical one, i.e., the seasons begin with their first month according to the official Roman calendar, although the months maintain their

Macedonian names. It is here that aesthetic, and partly also traditional, conceptions may have influenced the choice of the subjects differing from their positions in other calendars; I mean that, e.g., the shepherd with the kid, the peculiar image of Spring, had here to represent April instead of March in order to be in the center of the section of spring; perhaps also the sacrifice by the consul had to be necessarily the most important ceremony in the center of winter.

70. The manuscript of Ptolemy, one of the few from the beginning of the ninth century certainly deriving from Constantinople, may be considered an eastern product, although I cannot see any evidence for affirming its production at Alexandria.

71. In the mosaic of the Seasons in Ancona, it is in fact the figure of Spring which scatters seeds to the ground: see Blake, *Memoirs Am. Acad. in Rome*, XIII, 1936, pl. 44, 1.

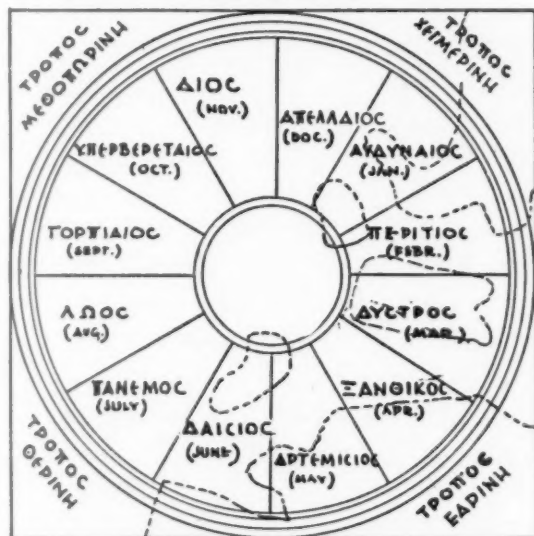
CALENDARS WITH RADIAL SCHEMES



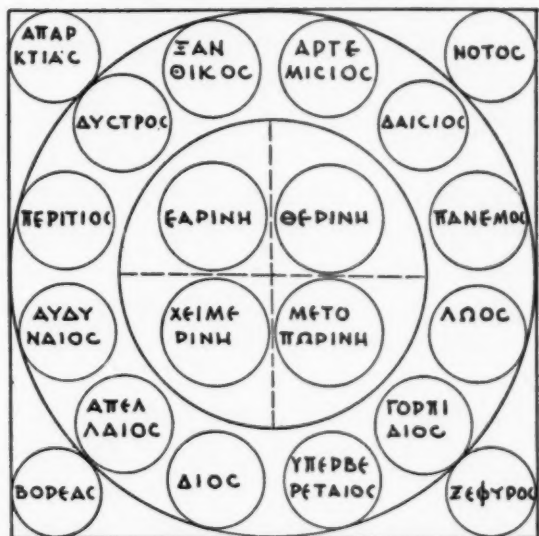
MANUSCRIPT OF PTOLEMY, VATICAN, NO. 3



CALENDAR FROM BEISAN, NO. 13



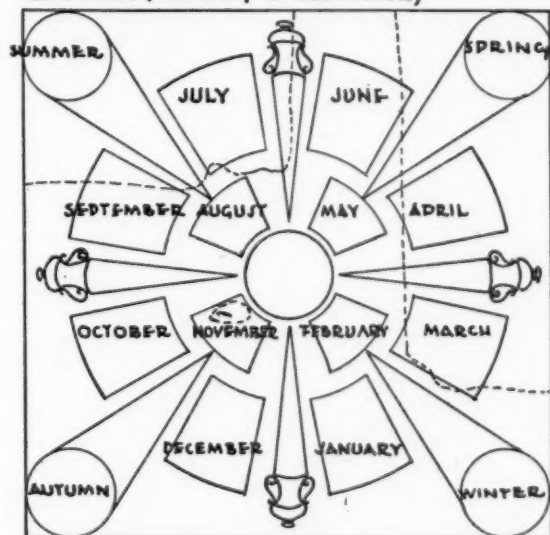
CALENDAR FROM ANTIOCH, NO. 2



SUPPOSED ORIGINAL RADIAL DISPOSITION OF CALENDAR FROM KABE-HIRAM (ACCORDING TO KUBITSCHUK)



CALENDAR FROM CARTHAGE, NO. 4



CALENDAR FROM CARTHAGE, NO. 6

illustrated. In a single monument, the Calendar of Filocalus, a hint at a religious celebration is introduced with the image of the slave, who is admitted to the games of his master during the feasts of *Saturnalia*.

Briefly, there is no distinct division of subjects into two groups; often the same motive appears in both, either for the same month or for different months. If we keep in mind the many reasons for divergencies which we have mentioned before, our table shows much more stress on the fundamental unity of conceptions in the different regions. As regards the divergencies, moreover, we must not forget the extremely fragmentary state of our evidence. For example, it would have appeared by itself as a fortuitous case that only in the eastern group was preserved the image of Mars for March, the tutelary god of the city of Rome, whose name would not recall anything for the month of the Macedonian calendar and for the cities of the East. But at this point we may utilize the single element offered us by the old description of the mosaic of the Basilica at Tegea, which we have only briefly mentioned in our list because of the scarcity of the information available: the bust representing this month is described indeed, in this monument belonging to the western group, as an image of Mars wearing a red helmet, cuirass, and spear.

Thus, the origin and the development of the figured calendars of Antiquity have become clear. The Athenian relief appears to us as the artistic interpretation of what we may call a liturgical calendar; the religious events of the single months are depicted in it instead of being listed, together with the signs of the Zodiac, which also represent in an artistic language the names of the months. Only indirectly can we obtain from it, through the religious ceremonies, some allusions to the different seasons and the agricultural events of the months. The Roman calendar assumes rather the character of a civil calendar, since it includes both the principal religious and civil events of the months, the latter introduced without the mediation of ceremonies of the cult. For the Roman calendars we are fortunately in a position to show, even for a relatively early period, the literary counterparts of the artistic representations: these are the often-mentioned *Menologia rustica*, of which two intact and similar specimens are preserved to us, the *Colotianum* or *Farnesianum*,⁷² and the *Vallense*. In the latter the months are distributed four by four on three sides of a marble parallelepipedon, in the former three by three on all four sides. They contain, like the Athenian frieze, a physical-astronomical part and a rural-religious one. For each month, under the figured image of a sign of the Zodiac, are given in letters the name of the month and the number of its days, the *nonae*, the hours of day and night, the name of the sign of the Zodiac. Besides there are the equinoxes and the solstices, the beginnings of the seasons, and finally the principal agricultural works and religious feasts.⁷³

72. Already studied by Fulvio Orsini: see *Museo Borbonico*, II, pl. 44. It is now in the National Museum at Naples.

73. The disposition of the text around a solid monument was the most practical one for the consultation of events returning in periodical cycles; this form was also the most convenient for the monuments showing the recurring of seasons, winds, hours: it suffices to mention, among the great architectural monuments preserved to us in Greece, the octagonal "Tower of the Winds" at Athens. But, moreover, the radial disposition of the circle of the year is based upon an old astronomical tradition, since it was suggested by the circle of the Zodiac itself in the sphere of the sky. Although it is known to us that the signs of the Zodiac are certainly an old Babylonian discovery, and although cuneiform tablets have demonstrated that the division of the sky into 360 degrees and into the twelve signs was in

use at least as early as the sixth century B.C., the first radial representations of the Zodiac do not go so far back; in any case, however, the famous circular Zodiac represented on the walls of the Hathor temple at Denderah, which cannot be later than the age of Augustus and Cleopatra, was certainly not the first of the whole series. In Egypt the tradition of the radial scheme in representations of the Zodiac carries on in several monuments, some of which have an astrological value, and among which we may mention the curious issues of coins of Antoninus Pius (see Cumont, in Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. "Zodiacus"). The round shape soon was used also for sundials, especially for the type of sundial called *discus in planitia*. On these portable solar quadrants, Vitruvius' *viatoria pensilia* (IX. IX), of which several bronze specimens are preserved to us (see Ardaillon, in Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. "Horologium"), some lines representing the months (*menstruae lineae*) trace sectors, each

The earliest Roman figured calendars are indeed nothing else but the artistic equivalents of the literary *Menologia rustica*. On them sometimes remain the signs of the Zodiac, and the written names of the months; in some cases the number of the days of each month is given in figures. A significant episode, chosen either among the religious feasts or among the civil activities, represents the month itself. When indigenous feasts had to replace unintelligible foreign ceremonies, classical types of the principal divinities could offer the models both for the representations of the gods presiding over the feasts and for allegories of the cult. The comprehensive cycles of realistic and idyllic illustrations of rural life would offer a wide choice for the portrayals of the months with scenes of nature. Artistic criteria, excluding the too-wide subjects of these cycles, such as episodes of threshing and ploughing, and possibly also ancient tradition such as that of the Athenian calendar, would suggest among the scenes of nature the choice of a concise and perspicuous one. Because of the wide local differences in cults and feasts, it is obvious that the religious elements were bound to give place more and more to naturalistic elements.⁷⁴ Another plausible and often repeated explanation for the gradual disappearance of religious subjects in the calendars of late Antiquity is the early division of Christian calendars into civil and religious ones, when the whole cycle of Christian feasts was reserved for special calendars, the *Martyrologia*. It may be that here and there the symbolic sign of the Zodiac, which we have found from the beginning beside or above the representation of the month, surreptitiously crept into a scene of nature; the symbol may even have modified sometimes or have suggested some naturalistic elements: the fish of February may have been the stimulus which suggested the figure of the fisher, whom we have found for the first time in the late Golenisheff sculpture. But already for the panel of June in the Hermitage, it has been suggested that the basket full of crabs held by the boy, strangely introduced near the fruit which are much more characteristic of this month, may be nothing else than the inclusion in the figured scene of the zodiacal sign of the Crab. Here is another link in the chain: the crab, one among the usual elements of marine still-life, may have brought with itself other related elements, such as the fishes and cuttle-fish in the field, foreign both to the naturalistic scene and to the zodiacal signs, which on the contrary are associated with crabs in the *emblemata* of mosaics and in paintings of still-life. In the same way may be explained the intrusion of cuttle-fish, octopus, nautili, besides fish in the allegory of February in the Calendar of Filocalus.⁷⁵ Finally, for the development of the allegories, the eternal reciprocal influence of poetry and art enters to play its rôle. We have quoted verses by the great classical poets of Rome—Horace, Ovid, Vergil—who in describing seasons or activities of certain seasons seem to be inspired by artistic

one with the name of a country and a number for its latitude. From all these precedents the round shape could be suggested from the very beginning for the representation of the cycle of the months. On the other hand, a circular shape had been adopted very early for the mosaic decoration of central rooms; for example, it was obviously the most suitable for the decoration of the wide central hall of thermal buildings. We may mention one of the earliest and most interesting Roman mosaics of this class, the Cologne mosaic with the representation called "of the Gladiators," attributed to the age of Trajan (see *Inv. mosaïques*, Gaule, no. 1661, plate; Krüger, *Arch. Anz.*, XLVIII, 1933, col. 661, fig. 3).

74. But sometimes we are not even in a position to decide with certainty whether some figures are simple naturalistic or idyllic images, or whether they have rather a religious content: for example, the figure crowned with flowers generally representing May, might be the disguised repre-

sentation of an original divinity, of *Deus Maius*, or *Jupiter Maius*, whose cult is attested at Tusculum (Macrob. 1. 12, 17), and whose image has been recognized in the statue of a youthful Jupiter found in Italy (see Roscher's *Lexikon*, s.v. "Maius").

75. We have suggested before, however, the possibility that the introduction of fish into the panel of the Hermitage occurred in another way, that is as a hint at fishing which is specially active and abundant in June, to which marine activity the verses by Dracontius may have alluded also. We remark that on June 7 in Rome, under the presidency of the urban prefect, the *ludi piscatorii* were celebrated, namely the ceremonies, accompanied by feasts and games, sacred to the god of the Tiber and dedicated to the fishermen of the Tiber on the Campus Martius. Anyhow, the reason which inspired the panel of the Hermitage does not change the origin of the artistic motive from the pictures of still-life we have mentioned before.

monuments; and artistic monuments in their turn seem to draw new motives and new details from celebrated poetical descriptions which passed into common parlance.

The cycle of the tetrastichs in the Calendar of Filocalus is no doubt a poetical work directly inspired by a cycle of artistic illustrations of the months. Here we find for the first time the personifications of the months, but as poetic—either unconscious or intentional—interpretations of the original artistic allegories.⁷⁶ The tetrastichs, once attributed to Ausonius, have since the time of Baehrens been generally accepted as a work of the age of Augustus. As a matter of fact they do not seem to me, as they did to Baehrens, the limpid and crystalline poetry peculiar to the Augustan age; they sound indeed rather like a flowery description of a series of artistic figurations, containing rather vague terms and reminiscences of classical poetry, very much like the descriptions of celebrated monuments such as we find in the anthologies and which generally belong to a much later period.⁷⁷ Because of its evident non-monumental character the Calendar of Filocalus shows its origin as an illustration of the tetrastichs. But how has the miniature painter proceeded? The verses could not directly suggest to him images for his figurations: an artist of classical Antiquity would not freely compose from literary conceptions, as an artist of the following ages might have done. He, as well as the artists or craftsmen of mosaics, frescoes and so on, would in all probability draw his models from sketchbooks, which contained more than one representation for each subject. As a rule, he would choose from the sketchbook the subject more or less corresponding to the poetic image of the verses included in his manuscript; but in some cases, for reasons one cannot exactly determine—either because he could not find among the drawings of the sketchbook any satisfactory illustrations of the verses, or because another subject was more inspiring to him—he would choose a different motive, of which there is no trace in the tetrastichs: such is the image of Hermes *πλουτοδότης*, almost surreptitiously introduced as an illustration of the verses. Probably some of the current images were forced and transformed by the artist in order better to illustrate his poet. And what in the verses was mere poetic and abstract addition, and consequently was not to be found in the repertory of artistic models, was added by the miniature painter in the field, without attempting to produce any connection with the main motive.

Various elements and attributes, moreover, entered his portrayals from the models of the sketchbook, even if there was no mention of them in the verses.⁷⁸ The miniature painter

76. I mean that perhaps the poet, when reading the names of the months above their figurations, took them as the names of the figures themselves; or he intentionally, on the contrary, attributed the name of the month to the principal personage of the allegorical scene illustrating it. In the same way, e.g., I have recently suggested that in all probability the poet of the *Anthologia Palatina*, Nilus Scholasticus, when describing a mosaic of Antioch representing a satyr, included among the words of his text the apotropaic inscription *καὶ σὺ* from the mosaic itself (*Anthologia Palatina*, xvi, 247; see *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III, 226).

77. They would belong to the very age of Ausonius, if we accept for the month of January the reading by Vollgraff (*op. cit.*, p. 87, n. 1, and p. 91 f.) "*Purpureis fastis qui munerat procures*": a historical argument would suggest this date, because only from the fourth century on is there evidence of the presentation of a copy of the *Fasti* bound in purple to the consuls taking up their charge; and a metrical one as well, because only in this late age in Roman poetry the word *mūnerat* can be used with a short *ū*. Anyhow other elements, stylistic factors and considerations of content, confirm a late dating: for example the feasts of Isis probably assumed only after Caracalla such an importance in the official Roman religion as to replace other indigenous

festivals in the representations of the months. The tetrastichs are inspired by a cycle of illustrations of the months, but describe them only in some of their verses; the rest of them, according to the taste of a late age, are poetic interpretations or divagations, or even, as it seems, reminiscences from other similar cycles or from famous artistic monuments of the same kind.

A. Riese, *Anthol. Latina*, Leipzig, 1894, nos. 394, 395, 665, does not seem to accept the views of Baehrens. I am glad that my opinion is supported by the valuable judgment of Prof. E. K. Rand, which I am authorized to quote: "I agree with you with regard to the Tetrastichs of the Months from the Calendar of 354 that Baehrens has no right to regard these verses as Augustine. They might be, and yet there is nothing in their style, in my opinion, that would not comport with the characteristics of Ausonius."

78. How such elements and attributes could be accumulated in the manuscript is made clear, e.g., by its nearest artistic monument, the recently-discovered mosaic from Ostia. This mosaic was called indeed "of Spring," because around the illustrations of the two preserved months there is a series of allegories all referring to the season to which the months belong, with attributes and decorative motives included in a series of circles and ellipses surrounding the bust of the season.

could very easily be tempted to introduce into his work some of these attributes, which, because of the non-monumental character of his miniatures, he could scatter in disorder, anywhere in the field.⁷⁹ On the other hand—proceeding a step further—it seems evident and plausible that manuscript calendars may in their turn have influenced monumental art: so, for example, the panel of May in the Conservatori Palace has, as we have seen, some elements, such as the windows in the background, directly recalling the miniature illustrations. In any case neither the poetical interpretations nor the miniature illustrations of the cycles of the months succeeded, even at the end of classical Antiquity, in establishing a fixed iconography for each single month. Their personification in the descriptions of the tetrastichs remains exceptional. A late Byzantine writer of the twelfth century, Eumathius Makrembolites, when describing, in a passage of his saccharine novel, *Sosthenes' garden* containing a cycle of paintings with allegories of the months, does not even call these by their name; in his summary interpretation, which follows the long and fastidious description of the paintings, he speaks only of the times of the year suitable for the various actions of the allegories.⁸⁰

If we compare with this description the latest monument with which we have dealt, the mosaic from the Monastery of Beisan, we notice that the representations of March, April, May, July, September, and December correspond entirely. The literary description has already helped us in interpreting in the mosaic the ambiguous figure of June, who holds a sickle, probably for mowing hay. August is damaged in the mosaic, but the image of the heated drinking personage has appeared in several other monuments. The text again may support the interpretation of the figure of October as the fowler holding a stick and a snare for birds. The figure of the ploughman for November is new, as far as late Roman monuments are concerned, and becomes frequent in the medieval ones: but we may recall here a precedent in the oldest calendar of Antiquity, the Athenian frieze, where the ploughman wears the rough cloth and even the *pileus* described in our text. An intermediate monument may perhaps be adduced in the fine Alexandrian coin of Marcus Aurelius representing ploughing, where the ploughman also wears a similar hood on his head. This coin, as well as

79. Incidentally the discovery of the Ostia mosaic has confirmed, if it was necessary, that the territory of Rome is undoubtedly the place of origin of the manuscript. The figurations of the months in the mosaic, even if later than the Calendar, are more directly connected with the original representations, with all the attributes and elements suitable for a scene from nature and without disturbing intrusions.

80. *De Ismeniae et Ismenes amoribus libellus*, Δ 5 ff., ed. R. Hercher, *Erotici script. gr.*, II, Leipzig, 1859, 190 ff.; 196 f.

It may be interesting to include here a translation of his summary interpretation of the paintings, because the representations described by him form almost a link between the allegories of Antiquity we have examined above and those of the Middle Ages. His cycle, curiously enough, begins with March, the month when spring begins, recalling to mind the distribution of the months in the circular calendar of Antioch: "The first figure of a soldier shows the time of the year (March) in which all soldiers, covered with weapons, go to the military expeditions. The shepherd who follows him, the pregnant she-goat at his feet, the syrinx which seems to be playing a song, describe the season (April) when the shepherd takes his flock out of its winter-shelter, when she-goats give birth to their kids, and the syrinx plays. The meadow in the next painting, all blooming with roses and opening flowers, the man adorned with flowers among them, represents the season of spring (May).

The verdant plain, the peasant intent on mowing hay, clearly describe the time when the ripening hay demands cutting (June). The man holding the sickle and cutting the crops in the middle of the fields, represents to you the season of harvest (July). The heated man coming out of the bath and drinking, shows you the heat of the season, the glowing dog-days when our body becomes dry (August). The personage who gathers and who presses grapes, represents to you the season of vintage and of wine-pressing (September). The fowler who stands near him indicates to you the period of the year when the birds getting cold take flight toward warmer countries (October). Do you see the farmer intent on ploughing? This is the time which a wise man (Hesiod) from the rising of the Pleiads has already fixed for ploughing (November). The succeeding personage who scatters seeds of corn, is the sower, who shows in the picture the season of sowing (December). Do you see the adolescent amidst his dogs which he caresses, carrying a hare? He represents to you the season of hunting: after corn, and wine, and everything that must be put aside, has been stored in the store-rooms, and after one has also arranged everything necessary for the coming works in the fields, then one may give himself over to the recreation of hunting (January). This white-headed old man, all wrinkled, near the wide flame of the hearth, shows the rough winter-season, and at the same time the cold old age: winter is not represented indeed by a tender boy, but by a bent old man (February)."

the other one representing an agricultural work, harvest,⁸¹ is related to the coinage of Antoninus Pius containing signs of the Zodiac which we have already mentioned, and consequently to the representation of months. January in the Byzantine text is the hunter with the hare whom we have often found for October in our monuments, where other hunters represent December as well. Even the image of February as the old man warming himself at the fire can be pointed out in Antiquity, in the Winter on a ceiling of Hadrian's villa.⁸²

From about the same period as the novel, we possess also a Byzantine series of representations almost exactly corresponding with it: the Gospel in the Library of St. Mark at Venice (Fig. 21; Webster no. 22). Here each of the months is represented by a figure between a capital and an architrave; they derive consequently from figures in architectural function such as are actually found on the smaller door of St. Nicholas at Bari. March stands immobile in full armor; April corresponds even more closely to the ancient cycles, inasmuch as he is the shepherd carrying the lamb on his shoulders, in the attitude of the Good Shepherd; persons with flowers, hay, and ears of corn are following, while August again, drinking and holding near his shoulder the fan of osier, exactly recalls the ancient mosaics. The vintager carries grapes in a basket, and suggests to us a similar interpretation for the figure with a basket in the complete Carthage mosaic. October is the hunter with a catch of thrushes on his shoulders, whom we have found in ancient art but symbolizing another month; November setting out to hoe or to harrow the fields, may suggest this interpretation for the obscure image in the mosaic of the Monastery of Beisan; December is the sower, as in this mosaic. On the contrary January, carrying on a dish the hog's head for the banquet, and February in the shape of the old man sitting near the fire, are new to us.

The iconography of the months in the Middle Ages is beyond the scope of the present paper. We cannot, however, ignore the fact that, thanks to the extension of our knowledge, the prevalent conceptions about the relations between Antiquity and the Middle Ages in this respect must be radically reconsidered. In the Middle Ages a clear split in the iconography of the months between eastern and western art has been pointed out. The contacts between Antiquity and Byzantine art, already admitted by Strzygowski, now appear much closer. Mars as the artistic image of March, already suggested by numerous poetical allusions, no longer seems to be a Byzantine innovation. This is also the case for all the other months which are represented in the Calendar of Filocalus by religious ceremonies: they appear in other antique calendars as genre scenes, which are the direct inspiration of Byzantine art. Such are the sower and the hunter for November and December, perhaps also the youth in the verdant fields for April, as the figure on the complete Carthage mosaic can likewise be interpreted. According to Strzygowski, the killing of hogs in January would have been suggested to Byzantine art by the iconography of the western branch.

Medieval Italian art, according to him, took in fact an entirely divergent road, deriving from a quite different origin, independent of Roman art and inspired by the German North and the French West. If we examine the earliest among the western medieval documents, a Salzburg manuscript of the ninth century (Webster no. 24), we find again the familiar themes for May, the figure with flowers, the mower and the harvester for July and August, September represented as the sower, and October as the vintager; April is the youth in the verdant field, and February a figure wrapped in his mantle with a big bird in his hand, recalling the hunter of water-birds in classical art; November and December are grouped in a single scene of hunting the boar. We descend for a moment to the twelfth century with the

81. See P. Brandt, *Schaffende Arbeit u. bildende Kunst*, Leipzig, 1927, p. 148, figs. 189-190.

82. See N. Ponce, *Arabesques antiques des Bains de Livoie et de la Ville Adrienne*, Paris, 1789, pl. 10.

Chronicon in Stuttgart from the Benedictine Abbey of Zwiefalten (Webster no. 89), and we still notice the hunter of the hare in January, the man with a hoe or harrow in February—such as that in the mosaic of the Monastery of Beisan—the mower of hay and the harvester, the sower and the vintager. May has a nest of birds in front of a sprouting tree. The links with classical art are indeed more vague; antique models, however, are suggested by the radial scheme of the calendar, with two rings containing the signs of the Zodiac and the months around the figure of the year, as well as by the images of the seasons in the spaces between the outer ring and a surrounding square, and the heads of the winds. And have the other medieval subjects for which we do not find any correspondence on extant ancient calendars been entirely invented?

Already the very episode which curiously links together East and West, the killing of hogs in winter, for December or January—an operation which still nowadays is characteristic of the Christmas feasts on the Italian farms—is mentioned in the poetry of late Antiquity, in the *Officia XII mensium* which we have quoted above. And now we must return to those cycles of illustrations of agricultural activities peculiar to the various times of the year, which we have already suggested as one of the main sources of inspiration for the illustrations of the civil calendars: the episode we are speaking of is in fact represented in art on the preserved reliefs of the Arch of Reims (variously dated, but probably belonging to the Antonine age). Here vintage is represented by the pressing of wine together with the gathering of grapes, in the same way as on the old Attic frieze; together with harvest we see probably the mowing of hay, two activities which constantly follow each other in the medieval cycles. Ploughing, after the liturgical calendar of Athens, recurs on the mosaic of S. Romain-en-Gal; here we find also the preparation of the barrels for wine—prescribed already in the *Menologium*—as well as another rural activity which was prescribed in the same text, pruning and grafting trees. We have found precedents for the fisher of February not only in literary references and in the fish often introduced into the panels representing this month on ancient calendars, but also in the figure represented as holding a catch of fish on the Golenisheff relief. On this the ducks hang from a pole resting on February's shoulder; but the figure of October in the manuscript of the Library of St. Mark is even more vividly recalled by one of Commodus' coins, mentioned before, on which a catch of birds hangs from a pole held by the hunter. The figure dragging a boar on classical representations of the seasons may suggest the frequent boar-hunts of the Middle Ages: the actual scene of hunting could easily find a prototype in the numberless representations of hunting of late antique art, where the motive of the boar is almost never lacking. Finally, no artistic document of Antiquity is preserved with the double-faced Janus of western medieval calendars; but we must suppose its existence from the numerous literary descriptions which were certainly inspired by artistic models. Briefly, it appears to us that medieval art, which has its roots in Antiquity, gradually renews its repertory; but in order to renew it, it again draws its inspiration and finds its models in the same sources from which antique art itself had drawn its inspiration when first creating its calendars.

We have denied for the figured calendars of Antiquity a neat division of Roman art into two separate provinces, West and East; we now deny a radical split between Antiquity and the Middle Ages.⁸³ German scholars have determined this split in the transformation from the representative picture into the scene of action, in the transition from abstract to concrete, from allegory to the practical aspect of life.⁸⁴ But this process would be quite contrary

83. On this affirmation cf. already Riegl, *op. cit.*, p. 71 f. For other medieval motives, one may compare also A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in*

Medieval Art, London, 1939, p. 5 f., p. 27 f., etc.

84. Brandt, *op. cit.*, pp. 153 ff.

to what we believe we have perceived. At the beginning there would be the personification; poetry would not have drawn inspiration from pictures of activities and ceremonies of the single months, while personifying, or identifying the acting figure with the name of the month itself; it would on the contrary have attributed to original abstract personifications the rural works and the religious ceremonies which the poets knew to be characteristic of the single months. Notwithstanding, because of the character of Latin poetry which was inclined to abstraction and to symbolism, we still would have empty allegories of the months almost deified and surrounded by a nimbus, without any effort toward a figured image. Thus, in any case, poetry would almost be the link between Antiquity and the Middle Ages. The allegorical picture indeed would have lost any meaning for the new realistic spirit of the Middle Ages; out of the poetical description of the past, only the part referring to human activities would have been maintained: out of a product of fancy, a peasant in rural garments would be born, setting out to his work throughout the centuries.

As a matter of fact, the illustrated calendar has appeared to us from its very beginning as the artistic interpretation of that part of the *Menologia rustica* which contains human, civil, and religious activities. Aesthetic criteria, necessities of space, a balance between the scenes and the signs of the Zodiac, and similar factors, probably caused the choice from cycles of representations of rural activities throughout the year, of a single figure—the most obvious one—for each month, but a figure always depicted in full activity and never as a symbol. As for the religious ceremonies, those at the head of all classical monuments in the Athenian calendar are already scenes of human activities, often even containing under the religious surface allusions to agricultural works. In the same way the new Roman and pagan ceremonies are scenes of cult. The only images which might be considered symbols are the divinities which sometimes replace the ceremonies, inasmuch as the tutelary divinities of the feasts with their mere effigies would recall to the spectators' mind the feasts themselves. These images, incidentally, might have penetrated into our figured calendars from the cycles of a different character, where each month was represented by the divinity to which it was sacred. But we are practically never sure that even these images in our calendars are really the divinities themselves, rather than priests or priestesses, and consequently figures in action. And, curiously enough, the only image of a Roman god who remains constant throughout late Antiquity, not displaying a real activity, the image of Mars in arms, is the one which we find again in the Middle Ages, as late as the Byzantine manuscript of the Library of St. Mark. And what else but an abstract symbol is another image, the double-faced Janus representing January, which in Antiquity we have met only in poetic descriptions, but which is so frequent in the West in the Middle Ages?

Against a classification into supposed clearly separated schools, we have only been able to reaffirm the substantial unity of Roman civilization, which carried on and diffused Hellenic tradition. Against criteria clearly distinguishing the various schools, we have only been able to show the freedom of choice and of attitude of artists and patrons before a repertory which could allow a large independence so far as the subjects and their disposition are concerned. We have been able again to perceive the closest ties between Antiquity and the Middle Ages, and to demonstrate the dependence of the latter on the former in motives and in artistic formulas. Then finally the ancient unity was broken. In the various regions were developed, not without reciprocal influences but certainly through individual roads, the new conceptions and the new styles of the various medieval arts, which it is not our task further to investigate.

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY, PRINCETON, N.J.

APPENDIX

We possess today more or less important remains of about one dozen illustrated calendars, the nucleus of which is offered by mosaic floors. We exclude from our examination on the one hand the cycles of representations illustrating the various human activities during the various seasons, and also the scenes in which the whole course of the year is envisaged and the activities can be more or less certainly distributed between the different times of the year, but in which no specific activity is clearly attributed to each single month: such, for example, is the series of agricultural activities in the very interesting mosaic from S. Romain-en-Gal at the Louvre, as well as the reliefs of the Roman Arch at Reims. On the other hand, it would not help us to take into consideration the cycles of personifications of the months where the months are represented by busts or heads of a generic type, without distinct attributes alluding to the special activities of each month; nor those of figures differentiated only by attributes or attitudes referring exclusively to the signs of the Zodiac; nor those where the months are represented by the divinities specially worshipped in them, which consequently approach the only type of calendar left us by Egyptian civilization. We may mention for the first category the famous mosaic of the sixth century A.D. from Kabr-Hiram near Tyre at the Louvre, as well as the fragments of the papyrus of the Golenishcheff collection; for the second, the glass Zodiac from Tanis at the British Museum; for the last, the altar from Gabii at the Louvre, and the other famous mosaic of Monnus in the Trier Museum. The fragments of the mosaic in Catania have busts crowned with fruit and flowers, each with its name in Latin; January, March, May, and July are preserved, partly in the Biscari Museum of Catania and partly by the Benedictines in that town: see A. Holm, *Catania antica*, trans. Libertini, p. 29, fig. 2; G. Libertini, *Il Museo Biscari*, 1930, I, pp. 309 f., pl. cxxxiv. The mosaic can be dated probably in the fourth century.

1. The earliest monument in our collection is perhaps the single panel of a cycle preserved in the Hermitage at Leningrad and representing June (Fig. 5): a boy, in a short tunic, holds a plate of figs and a basket of crabs; a basket of fruit is on the ground, near one of the two pedestals rising at his sides; on the top of both pedestals and near the foot of one are fishes and

cuttle-fish (cf. the similar cuttle-fish in the panel of February in the Calendar of Filocalus). The panel is a real *emblema* in *opus vermiculatum*, laid within a metal case; it consists of very small cubes, at the most delicate places measuring only 2 to 3 mm. on each side. Korsunskaya compares its drawing with the paintings of the fourth Pompeian style, and dates the mosaic in this period. The strongly plastic rendering of the figure, the daring oblique views, as well as the character of the frame of dentils (see for this pattern M. E. Blake, in *Memoirs of the Am. Ac. in Rome*, XIII, 1936, 187), make me incline to accept rather a later date, in the second century A.D.; I do not see however the necessity of descending beyond the limits of the general fashion of real *emblemata*, which, except for a few belated products, does not seem to have survived after the time of Antoninus Pius. The size of the cubes cannot furnish us a definite criterion. On the Pompeian *emblemata* the size of cubes varies from 1 to 4 mm. on each side. If we figure an average size of 2.5 mm. on each side for the cubes in our panel, we should have sixteen cubes per square centimeter. That is about the average number of cubes of the gladiators mosaic in the Zliten villa, where the finest mosaic with birds and volutes reaches an average of thirty cubes per square centimeter (see S. Aurigemma, *I mosaici di Zliten*, pp. 244 ff.). Miss Blake, *Memoirs of the Am. Ac. in Rome*, XVII, 1940, 105, suggests that the panel of Leningrad is a much later copy from a work of the fourth Pompeian style; but the stylistic arguments adduced by her are not very convincing.

2. We can undoubtedly date at least within the large limits of the second century A.D. the mosaic recently discovered in a large room of a villa of Antioch-on-the-Orontes (Figs. 2, 4). We find here, within a large border of geometric decoration, together with a wide rectangular panel representing Oceanus and Thetis on the background of the sea spread with fish, the first real "cycle" of the months, by which I mean a radial disposition of the months within a circle, which in turn is surrounded by a square. The months are identified, in Greek letters, by the names of the Macedonian calendar of Antioch. Unhappily, it is just this part of the mosaic which has reached us in the most fragmentary condition, preserving on one side the more or less mutilated figures of the months from March

to June, and on another side a few fragments of January. In the spaces between the circle and its surrounding square, four winged busts represent the seasons: Spring, crowned with flowers and with an amphora full of flowers in one hand, and Winter, with the head all wrapped in a mantle, are preserved. The person or persons who occupied the center of the circle have almost entirely disappeared.

3. The next document, the original of which can be dated exactly, is a miniature contained in an astronomical text of Ptolemy, in the manuscript of the Vatican Library gr. 1291 (Fig. 3). The miniature is again circular, and in the center Helios in his chariot is represented. There are three figured rings around him, the middle of which has the twelve months, called by their Greek names, in the shape of busts, differentiated however by garments, attitudes and specific attributes; these unfortunately are badly damaged and hardly distinguishable. The outer ring has the signs of the Zodiac, the inner one the personifications of the twelve hours. For each month there is indicated in all exactness, to the minute, the moment of the entry of the sun into the sign of the Zodiac; since this moment can be calculated for any year, we are in a position to determine the date of the original monument which was copied in our manuscript: about A.D. 250.

4. The year after the publication of the Calendar of Filocalus (5), Carthage yielded another very interesting and complete circular calendar in mosaic, which was exhibited in the Tunis pavilion of the World Exposition at Paris in 1889. After the Exposition the mosaic, divided into segments, was deposited in one of the storerooms of the Trocadéro, where supposedly it still lies, while we can study only a very mediocre drawing made of it by its discoverer Pradère (Fig. 6). In the center of the circle is a solemn seated figure with the Horn of Abundance, probably Mother Earth, or Abundance: she seems indeed to be a female figure, although Cagnat believes that he sees rather a male figure, which would be *Annus*, or a similar image. At her feet are the remains of a reclining figure extending its right arm toward her. Here too the circle is surrounded by a square, and in the corners of the square are four whole figures of the seasons, seated, and connected with each other by rinceaux and birds. The names of the months and the seasons are in Latin. An outer border all around the square contains animals, given in a normal profile view in the lower side of the square, but in a strange frontal view on the three other sides. It is difficult to determine

the date of this monument through the summary sketch accessible to us. We may remark, however, that there is no trace of Byzantine costumes, nor of objects and attributes, or geometric decorative elements characteristic of the Late Empire. The wreath of small schematic branches interrupted by flowers or by little stars, as well as the inner cable of spirals forming heart-shaped elements, can be pointed out in Carthage, especially in mosaics of the period which Gauckler calls Antonine, of the second and third century A.D. (see e.g. Hinks, *op. cit.*, p. 76 f., nos. 17-18). Consequently, in spite of the incertitude, we shall classify this mosaic at least between the earliest datable ones and those posterior to the Constantinian age and to the Calendar of Filocalus.

6 and 7. In much earlier times Carthage had yielded fragments of two more mosaics, one of which seems to have been entirely destroyed at the moment of its discovery, while the remains of the other soon reached the British Museum (Figs. 8-10). The latter belonged also to the circular type, but with a much more complicated arrangement, which can be reconstructed with fair exactness: eight large representations of months were alternated with four smaller ones, the latter disposed further inside the composition and surrounding the small central disc; four vases of flowers with high and stylized branches of leaves rose between the eight larger panels; in the corners of the surrounding square four busts of seasons were contained within four other discs, from which four more branches of similar leaves arose; a rich rinceau of thorny acanthus filled all the remaining space, while the frame around the square was formed by a ribbon containing calyxes of flowers. The style of the figures, the luxurious ornamentation and its stylization do not permit us to date the monument earlier than the fourth century (for different opinions see Hinks, *op. cit.*, p. 94). We do not know anything about the disposition of the other lost mosaic from Carthage, which we shall call the Beulé mosaic from the name of its discoverer (Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 21, note; *Inv. mosaïques*, Tunisie, no. 594). We hear only that the figures of the months were large, little smaller than life size, wearing Byzantine costumes and named by Latin inscriptions above the heads of the personages. The execution of the mosaic is described as "miserable." At the moment of its discovery only the panels of May and June were preserved.

8. The single panel with the month of May (Fig. 7), found within a house on the Esquiline

in the gardens of Maecenas near the so-called *Auditorium* and exhibited in the Conservatori Palace, can be dated in the fourth century both for its style and for archaeological elements. The figure, wearing a white tunic, holds a cup full of flowers; a basket of flowers lies on a shelf on the right, an elegant glass vase with two handles all adorned with flowers and leaves stands at the left, beneath one of the two windows with balustrades in the background. This last detail by itself brings this panel close to the Calendar of Filocalus—to, for example, the background of the month of March.

9. Still within the fourth century, and probably very near the age of Constantine, can be dated also the imposing mosaic recently discovered at Argos near the Cephissus. This consists of two large borders respectively 3 and 4.50 meters wide, which decorated the two sides of the courtyard at the entrance of a basilica. Each border contains a series of rectangular panels, all surrounded by wide acanthus-rinceaux forming medallions; within the medallions various motives such as domestic and wild animals, ornaments of vegetation, fruit and other objects, are depicted in lively colors with vivacity and naturalness. The wider border represents hunting scenes, the narrower one the months of the year, two by two within six panels, of which unfortunately only the first with January and February has been excavated, while the others are still concealed under a modern building. The first two months have been described and discussed at length, but not yet reproduced.

10. A mosaic (Fig. 14), discovered during the very last excavations at Ostia, and precisely in a thermal building at the periphery of the ancient town near the modern highway from Rome to Lido, has been attributed to the end of the fourth century for archaeological criteria which have not been sufficiently explained in the first short account of the excavations: see *Arch. Anz.*, LI, 1936, col. 461, fig. 11; Calza, *Bull. Comm.*, LXVI, 1938, 303 f. and fig. 40, p. 306. The section of the mosaic actually preserved in a fragmentary condition and exhibited in the Museum of Ostia, is 7×4 meters large and consists of fifteen compartments. The two central ones, with allegories of two months, are square; the others, round or elliptical, were surrounded half by a guilloche and half by a wreath of flowers; a wider guilloche and a meander form the outer frame on two sides. The round and elliptical panels contain a bust of a woman, probably the image of a season,

birds on branches, a basket of fruit, and five pomegranates.

From Greece came another mosaic, possibly belonging to the first half of the fifth century, known for a long time but only recently brought completely to light: this is the mosaic of a basilica of Tegea, of which unfortunately only a very short and quite insufficient description has been published (*Bull. Corr. Bell.*, xvii, 1893, 13 f.; and *Arch. Anz.*, XLIX, 1934, col. 156), and we consequently mention it briefly in its proper place. In the principal hall of the basilica a wide mosaic was divided into sixteen panels, four of them representing the rivers of Paradise and twelve the months, in the shape of human busts, concerning which, however, we do not know whether they were only crowned with different flowers according to the different seasons, as appears from the last account of the discovery, or whether they also had other important attributes, as in the manuscript of Ptolemy. Each month had its Latin name but in Greek letters. A fragment of a sarcophagus found in Egypt (11), of which we speak in the text, seems to belong to the fifth century also.

12 and 13. The last two mosaics we have to catalogue bring us again to the eastern provinces of the Empire (Palestine), and to the Early Christian age. Both have been found at Beisan, or Beth-Shan, ancient Scythopolis; they belonged to two Christian buildings of the sixth century. The first (Fig. 11) decorated the narthex of the so-called Hammām of Beisan, and was a wide rectangular panel surrounded by a meander-like twisted ribbon. The months, separated by branches, were disposed in two rows but vertically divided into two groups; besides a fragment of April, only the six last months, excepting October, are preserved to us. The second mosaic (Fig. 12), later than the first according to all the evidence, adorned the central hall of a monastery, the building of which seems to have been accomplished either 553/4 or 568/9 A.D. With this last monument of Antiquity we return to the radial disposition of the calendar, which occupied the center of the hall in the middle of a wide rectangular decorative mosaic containing animals within octagons, surrounded by stars of rhombs, squares, and lozenges with other animal, vegetal, and various smaller motives. The fragmentary busts of the Sun and the Moon occupy a central disc; the names of the months around them are the Latin ones but in Greek letters, and the numbers of days contained in each month are indicated with Greek letters and numerals, exactly as in the preceding mosaic.

THE MADONNA OF THE WRITING CHRIST CHILD

BY CHARLES P. PARKHURST, JR.

AT the end of the fourteenth century a unique and picturesque image of the Madonna and Child appeared in northern Europe. In it the Christ Child was represented with pen in hand busily scribbling in a book, a theme never depicted previously. Sometimes He nursed as He wrote, sometimes He paused to dip His pen into an inkpot. Study of this unusual image, which emerged at the hour when a changing outlook commenced to activate northern continental culture, should provide an index to the origins and movements of new creative forces and enable us to investigate beyond the image's artistic fact and its history into the essential tendencies of the human mind of which it was a symptom.¹

The phrase commonly employed to denote this icon, *la Vierge à l'encrier*, appears to have been used first by Arnaud Schaepkens in 1865.² Curiously, he misapplied the term to an entirely different image where actually no inkpot was depicted. The statue he discussed represents the Virgin holding the Child on one arm and carrying a vase or *unguentarium* in the other. In 1890, Jules Helbig used the name again, erring in the same particular as Schaepkens.³ More recently (1930), the problem of the origin of this icon was discussed anew, and Herbert von Einem became the first to examine the inkpot and writing motives at any length, but hampered by lack of evidence, he was led into certain errors.⁴ He referred to a paragraph by August Feigel written in 1913 which dealt with our iconographical problem, but Feigel's idea that the image originated with the Brotherhood of the Holy Blood at Mainz was not explicitly formulated by him until 1934.⁵ The most recent notice is that of M. Vloberg, who devotes to this type a chapter in his popular book on the Virgin, involving several new examples, but leaving the problem still unsolved.⁶

The subsequent analysis of this iconography will be clearer if we pause here to identify, proleptically, the various categories into which the examples may be placed. Of the thirty-eight known to me, all can be described under two headings: (1) a standing Madonna type which is inherently sculptural in conception, and (2) a seated Madonna type which had its origins in the illumination of manuscripts. The former group, in turn, is divisible into two sub-groups. In the first, there is no gesture of writing on the part of the Child, but the action is implied by the inscribed banderole which He holds, and usually by the presence of an inkpot; it is noteworthy that here also the Child is engaged in pulling His mother's mantle across her breast. In the second sub-group, Christ writes, and an inkpot is always depicted. One exception must be signaled: a unique specimen in Hal, Belgium, where the

1. I first became aware of and interested in this problem thanks to Dr. Erwin Panofsky, who not only introduced me to the material but, characteristically, has made more than generous contributions to this article in the form of notes, photographs, and ideas. I am indebted to the Metropolitan Museum of Art for permission to reproduce Figs. 16 and 18, and to The Pierpont Morgan Library for Fig. 33.

2. "Statue gothique de la Vierge dans l'église de Notre Dame à Maestricht," *Public. Soc. archéol. Limbourg*, 11, 1865, 140-44.

3. *La sculpture au pays de Liège*, 2nd ed., Bruges, 1890,

p. 118 and note 1.

4. "Zur 'Tintenfassmadonna' des hildesheimer Domes," *Alt-Hildesheim*, x, 1930, 16-19. His example no. 1, from the Kreuzkirche, Hildesheim, does not fall within the scope of our problem since it lacks the essential writing theme.

5. "Neuerwerbungen der Plastiksammlung des Landesmuseums zu Darmstadt," *Cicerone*, v, 1913, 41-42; "Unsere Liebe Frau vom hl. Blute," *Festschrift für Heinrich Schrohe*, Mainz, 1934, pp. 79-82.

6. *La Vierge notre médiatrice*, Grenoble, 1938, pp. 151 ff.



FIG. 1. Mainz, Museum: Madonna from the Korbasse, *ca.* 1405-1410



FIG. 2. Paderborn, Cathedral: Madonna from Monument to Bishop Rotho, 1450



FIG. 3. Mainz, Museum: Madonna from the Carmelite Cloisters, *ca.* 1405



FIG. 4. Berlin, Deutsches Museum: Madonna, Copy after Conrad von Soest, *ca.* 1420



FIG. 5. Darmstadt, Museum: Madonna from Heuchelheim (Hesse), 1420-30



FIG. 6. Budapest, Museum: Madonna, Copy after Conrad von Soest, *ca.* 1420



FIG. 7. Hannover, Provincial Museum: Madonna from the Lüneburg "Goldene Tafel," ca. 1418



FIG. 8. Lübeck, Cathedral: Müllererknechte Altarpiece, ca. 1460 (Detail)



FIG. 9. Hildesheim Cathedral: Madonna, ca. 1418



FIG. 10. Munich, Graphische Sammlung: Middle Rhenish Metal Cut, ca. 1450-60



FIG. 11. Berlin, Deutsches Museum: Madonna from Marienbaum bei Xanten, ca. 1415-25



FIG. 12. Leipzig, Weigel Collection (Formerly): Metal Cut by "Meister P," 1451

Christ writes, but where neither the inkpot nor the motive of the mantle is present (Fig. 30). The group of seated Madonnas is likewise subdivisible, for some examples show the inkpot in conjunction with the writing Christ Child, while the remainder represent the Child nursing as He inscribes a banderole, and no inkpot is seen. In the discussion which follows, we shall consider first the standing image, and afterwards the seated type.

The earliest example of the standing *Madonna of the Writing Christ Child* with the inkpot is a stone statue from the Korbasse, Mainz, by the Master of the Carmelite Cloister Madonna, and generally dated about 1405-1410 (Fig. 1).⁷ The Virgin, wearing a heavy crown of roses, bears the Child on her left arm and in her right hand carries a crucifix. This has the form of a grapevine, surrounded by angels who collect the blood of Christ, and terminated on the top by a *Pelican in her Piety*, the whole symbolizing the Eucharist. The Child in this case has the motives which interest us, for as He writes on a banderole open across His lap, He balances an inkpot in His left hand. The statue is a variant of its pendant, the Madonna of the Carmelite Cloister, which is now in the Mainz Museum (Fig. 3). In this latter Madonna the inkpot is not represented, and the writing is only implicit in the banderole held by the Child. The characterizing feature here is the gesture of the Child as He pulls His mother's mantle across her breast. The statue embodies the earliest appearance of this mantle motive in combination with the writing Christ Child, and for this reason appears to be the model for similar later representations. Somewhat less mannerized than the Korbasse Madonna, this Carmelite statue is probably the earlier of the two, by a very little.

The Korbasse group is the earliest of a series of similar representations from northern Germany which commences with two literal and probably contemporary copies, a Madonna in stucco from Dieburg near Mainz,⁸ and one in stone on the southeast portal of the church of St. Martin at Amberg in the Oberpfalz.⁹ In the sequence of variant derivatives that succeeds these, we note an unusually consistent correlation of chronology and geographical dispersion from the center at Mainz. Northward and eastward from this city (see map, p. 294) we come upon an example at Heuchelheim, near Giessen in Hesse (Fig. 5). Here Christ dips His pen preparatory to writing, and does not actually write. This divergence, which does not alter the theme, we shall find repeated in other instances. This work reveals an artist of about 1420-30 whose style is rooted in the earlier Burgundian school, but at the same time is related to that of the Master of the Carmelite Cloister Madonna. Here present also is a unique departure from the norm of inkpot Madonnas in that the Virgin stands on a lion. This is an iconographic intrusion from the *Virgin on the Animals*, ultimately derived from Ps. 16: 13, and severally treated in painting, sculpture and other media. The iconography as well as the style indicates a Burgundian connection, for the earliest known use of the image is at Neuilly-en-Donjon.¹⁰

7. It is difficult to fix the date of the Korbasse Madonna with exactitude. Peter Metz ("Die Mutter Gottes aus der Korbasse in Mainz," *Pantheon*, xiv, 1934, 334-36) places it ca. 1400, and F. Back (*Mittelrheinische Kunst*, Frankfurt a.-M., 1910, p. 231) "zu Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts." The more detailed study of Eva Zimmermann-Deissler ("Vier Meister mittelrheinischen Plastik um 1400," *Stadel-Jahrbuch*, III, 1924, 9-48) dates the Carmelite statue ca. 1405 and the Korbasse Madonna slightly thereafter by implication. The original of the Korbasse Madonna is, according to her (p. 22), in Wiesbaden.

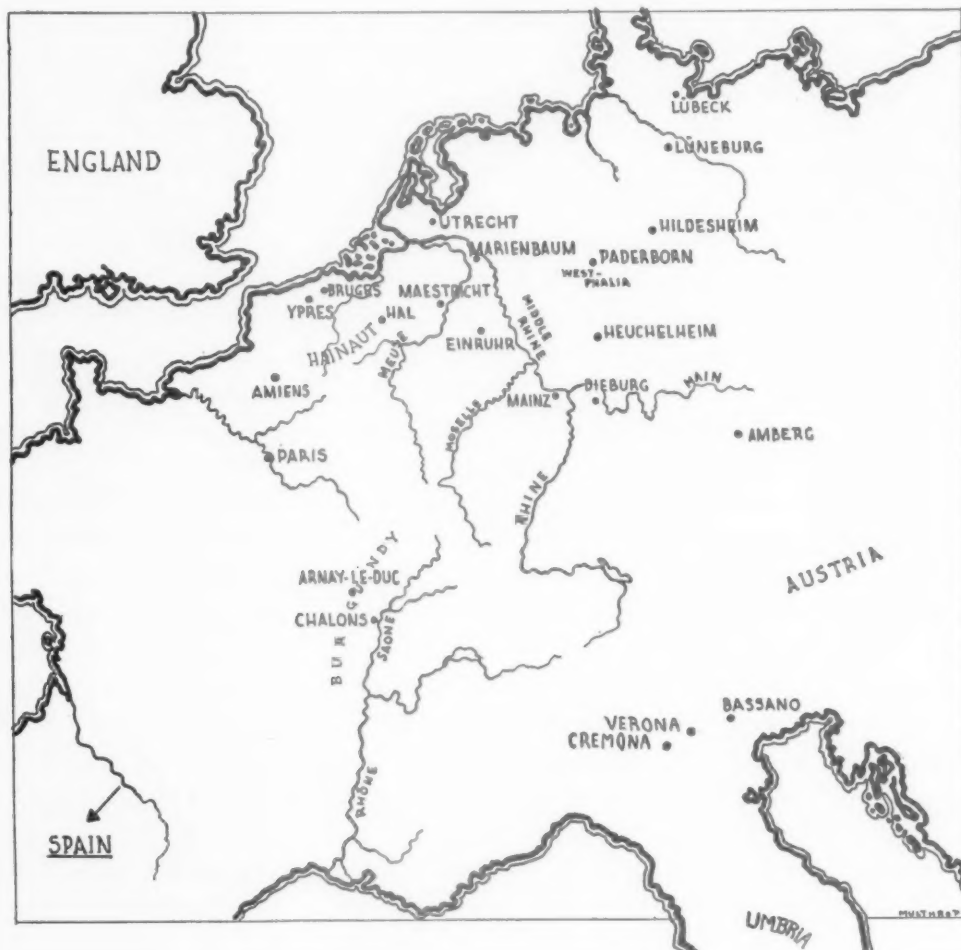
8. F. Back, *op. cit.*, p. 23. This may be the same statue

which Zimmermann-Deissler (*loc. cit.*, p. 22, note 1) calls "eine ausseichnend moderne Steingusswiederholung der Korbassenmadonna."

9. Philipp Maria Halm, "Die Madonna mit dem Rosenstrauch im bayerischen Nationalmuseum," *Münchner Jahrb.*, xi, 1921, 12. Cf. also Zimmermann-Deissler, *loc. cit.*, p. 22, note 1.

10. For the publication of the Heuchelheim statue see A. Feigl in *Cicerone*, v, 1913, 46. The statue is now in the Darmstadt Museum. For the *Virgin on the Animals*, see E. Panofsky, *Deutsche Plastik*, Munich, 1924, text-vol. pp. 140-41.

Still farther from Mainz in this same direction lies Westphalia, a territory belonging at this date to Cologne. In this region the painter Conrad von Soest was active, and it is evident that he painted at some time around 1420 a Madonna and Child of our type. The



proof resides in two derivative panel paintings of a half-length Madonna and Child. The first of these is now in Berlin (Fig. 4), the second in Budapest (Fig. 6). It is reasonable to believe that they were copied from some outstanding picture of the day, and such a contention is amply supported by even a summary comparison of their similarities.¹¹ Certain features are common to our two pictures and to known works of Conrad von Soest, notably the Dortmund Altar of about 1420, so that we may tentatively assign the same date to these two panels.¹² The Child actually does not write in either case but is shown as though He had finished writing, and was engaged in pulling the robe of His mother toward Him across her breast, while she holds the inkpot, pen, and pencase. This is a variation which we have already noted in the Carmelite Cloister Madonna of Mainz, and it probably is dependent upon that earlier model, as we have suggested.

11. Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik*, Berlin, III, 1938, pp. 33, 34, points out this debt to Conrad.

12. Max Geisberg, *Meister Konrad von Soest* (*Westfälische Kunsthefte*, II), Dortmund, 1934, p. 12 and figs. 46 ff. The elements for specific comparison are the brocade patterns, the lettering on the inscribed nimbi, the figure construction and poses, the drawing and proportions of the Christ Child figures, the angel types, the rendition of curly hair, and the predilection for pseudo-Hebraic (?) inscriptions. In each case the original (nude?) figure of Christ appears to have been subsequently overpainted with a garment.

struction and poses, the drawing and proportions of the Christ Child figures, the angel types, the rendition of curly hair, and the predilection for pseudo-Hebraic (?) inscriptions. In each case the original (nude?) figure of Christ appears to have been subsequently overpainted with a garment.

In the same vicinity, at Paderborn Cathedral, is a monument erected in 1450 to the memory of Bishop Rotho (eleventh century) by a married couple from the Netherlandish branch of his family.¹³ Above the sarcophagus and between the two donor figures (one is now missing) stands a statue of the Virgin and Child (Fig. 2) flanked by censing angels. The Child writes, and it seems probable that originally there was an inkpot in the right hand of the Virgin which is now incorrectly restored in a clumsy fashion.¹⁴ Somewhat more distant from the Mainz focus in the same direction, in the province of Hannover, are two statues of this type which are stylistically related to one another. The first, in Hildesheim Cathedral (Fig. 9), can be dated with reference to the other, which was made for the famous *Goldene Tafel* shrine in Lüneburg (Fig. 7), probably erected about 1418 or shortly thereafter.¹⁵ Our northeasterly progress from Mainz carries us finally to the coast at Lübeck. There in the Cathedral is a similar representation on the altarpiece of the *Müllerknechte* (Fig. 8), datable around 1460.

There is a similarly wide dispersion of the icon in the valley of the Rhine. Only four specimens from this territory are known to me, and this limited number is insufficient to furnish such chronological-geographical correlations as we have observed heretofore. The first of the examples, a small wooden statuette from a cloister in Marienbaum-bei-Xanten on the Lower Rhine (Fig. 11) is now in the Deutsches Museum at Berlin. Its style indicates a date between 1415 and 1425. The Madonna holds the writing Christ Child on her left arm and the inkpot in her left hand. Both the right hand and the bunch of grapes it holds are restored.¹⁶ If the restoration is correct the figure is directly related to the Korbgrasse Madonna, since both display this symbol of the Eucharist. Our second and third examples are a very instructive pair of metal cuts from the Middle Rhine. One is signed and dated P. MCCCCLI (Fig. 12). It seems to be based on a more illustrious prototype by the Playing-card Master. The other (Fig. 10), unsigned and undated, is an inferior derivative of the same model and dates about 1450-60.¹⁷ The reversal of the images, which are otherwise analogous, illustrates graphically the results of copying by metal cutting: in this instance one work must be an even number of copies removed from the archetype, the other (being reversed) an odd number. The fourth Rhenish Virgin is in Einruhr, not far from Aachen (Fig. 15).¹⁸ This polychromed wooden statue is in the style of about 1500 and is the latest of our German examples.

We see that, when limited to German examples, we must recognize a fan-like dispersion with Mainz at the apex (see map, p. 294). Our last example brought us to Einruhr, which is on the western slope of the Rhine valley. Hence it is only in line with normal expectations to find the iconographic type appearing to the westward over the divide, in the Mosan valley. As evidence of this there is a polychromed wooden statue in Notre Dame at Maastricht (Fig. 14) of about 1520-30. It is possible that we may identify the influence of this region in a second statue, the unique stone Madonna and Child from the Cloisters of

13. Alois Fuchs, *Der Dom zu Paderborn*, Paderborn, 1936, p. 44.

14. H. von Einem, *loc. cit.*, p. 16, pointed out this probability.

15. F. Stuttmann, *Der Reliquienschatz der Goldenen Tafel des St. Michaelisklosters in Lüneburg*, Berlin, 1937, p. 13 and note 22.

16. Wilhelm Vöge, *Die deutschen Bildwerke und die der anderen isalpinen Länder (Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen*, 2nd ed., IV) Berlin, 1910, no. 75.

17. For the engraving by "Meister P." see Th. Kutschmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Illustration*, Goslar and

Berlin, 1899, pp. 22-23. This example was formerly in the Weigel collection at Leipzig: see T. O. Weigel and Ad. Zestermann, *Die Anfänge der Druckerkunst in Bild und Schrift . . . in der Weigel'schen Sammlung*, Leipzig, 1866, II, 335-36, no. 406. For the other engravings see Paul Heitz, *Einblattdrucke des Fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, LXII, Strassburg, 1926, no. 127. This example is in the Graphische Sammlung, Munich.

18. Ernst Wackenroder, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Schleiden (Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, ed. Paul Clemen, XI, II) Düsseldorf, 1932, p. 131.

the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Fig. 16) executed in the style prevalent about 1480. Its resemblance to the Maastricht statue is most clearly shown with respect to the distribution of the drapery folds of both the bodice and the mantle, the figure proportions, and the treatment of the hair of the Child as bolls built up in concentric circles. But even so the connection is not strong. The work appears more French than Flemish, particularly in the rendition of the face and in the heavy woolen quality of the drapery. Both of these elements find their closest analogies in Burgundian sculpture of the second half of the fifteenth century.¹⁹ Under the circumstances, the work is best described as Burgundian under the influence of Mosan art, or vice versa.

These last monuments indicate that just as Mainz was a focus for the dissemination of the icon in northwestern Germany, so this whole German region in turn became the focus for the general spread of the motive into other parts of Europe. That this remarkable process commenced about 1450 is suggested by the Mosan and Burgundian examples of which we have made note. In fact, the image is found several times in Burgundy in the second half of the fifteenth century. The earliest such statue to my knowledge is a stone Madonna in the Chapel of the Hospital at Chalons-sur-Saône (Fig. 13).²⁰ Another monument showing the persistence of the theme in this region at a later date is the Madonna from Arnay-le-Duc (now lost), of the first quarter of the sixteenth century.²¹

From elsewhere in North Europe come two more Madonnas to evince the growing popularity of the group. The first is a marble statuette, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 18), which betrays an archaizing tendency in its heavy drapery, but because of the facial type, the folds at the base of the garment, and other features we must conclude that it was carved in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, probably in North France or the Channel region.²² The second work is a painted panel executed in the city of Bruges about 1500 (Fig. 17) by the Master of the André Madonna, who reflects the influence of the Antwerp school of painting, but at the same time recalls the earlier van Eyck figure-painting tradition.²³ This reminiscence of a period about a hundred years previous is in harmony with the atavism of the iconography. In point of fact, the use of the image in question at the end of the fifteenth century indicates an interest in a motive which was developed nearly a hundred years earlier, and this likewise accords with the general tendency of this later period to seek inspiration in the works of the early fifteenth century.

The final stage in the international dissemination of the image is its entry into Spanish painting. A picture of the Madonna and Child attributed to Luis Morales, formerly in the hands of a London art dealer, represents the Child writing in a book (Fig. 19).²⁴ In view of the recognized northern character of Morales' technique, it is probable that our theme

19. For example, compare the drapery with the Madonna at Saulieu (Henri David, *De Sluter à Sambin. La renaissance*, Paris, 1933, fig. 1) or with one at Chalons-sur-Saône (our Fig. 13). The facial type is similar in a number of Burgundian statues, as in this one from Chalons, one from Fixin (David, *op. cit.*, *La fin du moyen âge*, fig. 53) and another at Beaumont-sur-Vingeanne (*ibid.*, fig. 73), etc.

20. David, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 129-30 and fig. 56. I cannot say with certainty that the inkpot is represented, having seen the statue only in this very poor reproduction.

22. A. Pératé and G. Brière, *Collection Georges Hoent-schel*, Paris, 1908, 1, pl. ix and notice.

23. Cf. Musée Jacquemart-André, *Catalogue itinéraire*, 7th ed., Paris, n.d., entry no. 1018. W. H. James Weale,

"The Early Painters of the Netherlands as Illustrated by the Bruges Exhibition of 1902," *Burlington Magazine*, 1, 1903, 205-206, erroneously speaks of Mosan influence in this panel. He also includes in his list of Inkpot Madonnas the statue at the entrance of the Butchers' Hall in Ghent, but this group as I saw it in 1938 is of the *unguentarium* type which we have already eliminated from this discussion. For the Master of the André Madonna and works other than this one executed by him, *vide* Max J. Friedlaender, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, ix, Berlin, 1931, nos. 187-89.

24. R. R. Tatlock, "Two Pictures by Morales," *Burlington Magazine*, xli, 1922, 133-34. The attribution to Morales certainly may be questioned. This picture was called to my notice by Mr. John R. Martin.



FIG. 13. Chalons-sur-Saône, Hospital Chapel: Madonna, Second Half of Fifteenth Century



FIG. 14. Maastricht, Notre Dame: Madonna, *ca.* 1520-30



FIG. 15. Einruhr, Parish Church: Madonna, *ca.* 1500



FIG. 16. New York, The Cloisters: Mosan-Burgundian Madonna, *ca.* 1480



FIG. 17. Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André: Master of the André Madonna, Panel, *ca.* 1500



FIG. 18. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: Madonna, 1475-1500



FIG. 19. London, Art Market: Luis Morales (?), Madonna, *ca.* 1550

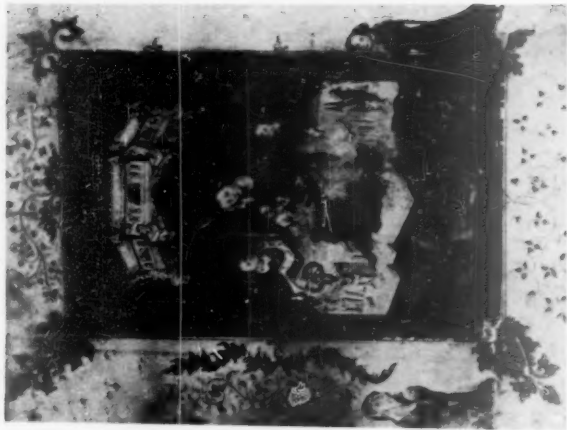


FIG. 20. Carpentras, Municipal Library: MS 57, Book of Hours, Flemish, *ca.* 1400–1405, fol. 55^v

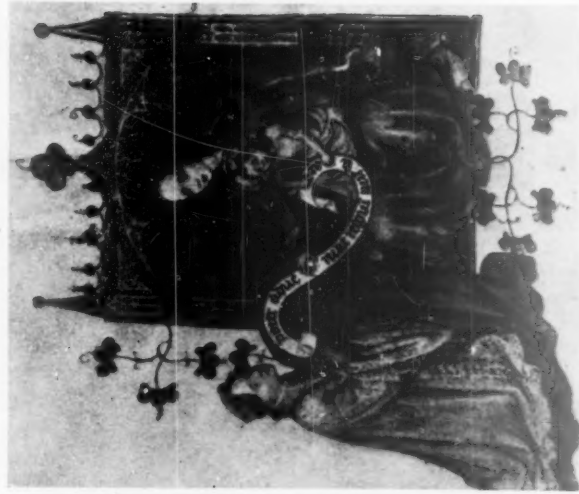


FIG. 21. Brussels, Poullier-Ketele Collection (Formerly): Flemish Manuscript, *ca.* 1400–1405

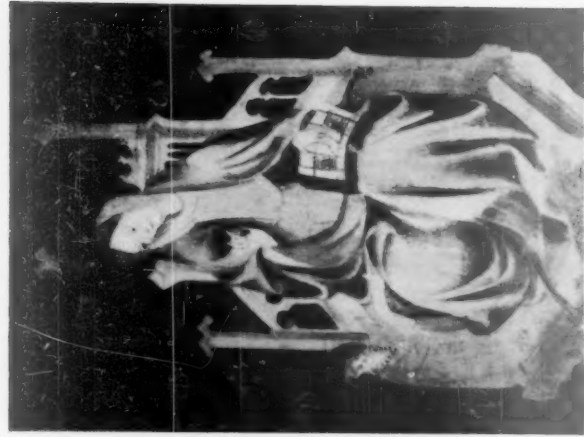


FIG. 22. British Museum: Add. MS 38527, Spieghel der Maeghden, Dutch, *ca.* 1410, fol. 90^v



FIG. 23. Vienna, Museum: Embroidered Antependium, *ca.* 1430–35 (Detail)



FIG. 24. Vienna, National Library: MS 1855, Book of Hours, French, *ca.* 1422, fol. 202



FIG. 25. Paris, Louvre: Panel, Austrian School, *ca.* 1420

came to him directly from the Rhineland or Flanders; and in coming such a distance, at such a relatively late date, it lost much of its original significance and eliminated the motive of the inkpot. The work is undated, but the iconography would indicate a date around the middle of the sixteenth century rather than at the end. Our earlier observation of a connection between the chronology of the examples and their geographical dispersion from the Middle Rhine to an international distribution is sustained by reference to the map.

In addition to all these monuments, there exists another category of images analogous to this one, differing only in the pose of the Virgin, who is seated; this subdivision we have already mentioned above. In the examples of this type which possess the inkpot attribute, we may trace exactly the same history of the icon, beginning about the same moment and continuing over the same period, but in another northern region than Germany. The variant of this type, the seated Madonna *nursing* the writing Child, we shall discuss subsequently.

The beginnings of the seated type are fixed about 1400-1405 by a Book of Hours now in the Municipal Library of Carpentras, France (MS 57; Fig. 20). This, and a manuscript page from the Pouillier-Ketele library, Brussels (Fig. 21), with a similar representation and probably of the same date,²⁵ can be assigned to the school which developed out of the art of Melchior Broederlam and had its center at Ypres in the county of Flanders.²⁶ Both pages exhibit the three motives which persist throughout this series: (1) the seated Madonna, (2) the inkpot, and (3) the writing Christ Child.

A work related to these is a picture from a manuscript book preserved in the British Museum entitled *De Spieghel der Maeghden*. It comes from a convent near Utrecht and seems to have been composed around 1410 (Fig. 22).²⁷ The peculiar gesture of the Madonna can only be understood in the light of the two Ypres miniatures: they have the same pinching position of the fingers of the right hand which holds the inkpot, and the same arrangement of the fingers of the left hand, which formerly supported the Child but which now merely lies on the open book. These details persist in spite of the provincial mutations through which the Child has come down from Mary's lap to stand on the base of the throne, extending a pen (?) toward her with His left hand and holding a strip of vellum in His right. This style recalls, as Byvanck has rightly remarked, certain works in the style of Jacquemart de Hesdin executed by artists working for the Duc de Berry. The iconographic derivation alone is sufficient, however, to establish the antecedents of the Utrecht page in Flanders.

Next in order chronologically is a panel painting in the Louvre (Fig. 25), much abused by historians with respect to its nationality but which now has found proper allocation in the Austrian school.²⁸ The style of the panel is very close to that of the Master of the Presentation.²⁹ As Professor Millard Meiss has shown, this master's early works were

25. This miniature is known to me only through a reproduction clipped from a sales catalog. On the back is the longhand notation, "Bibliothèque Pouillier-Ketele, Bruxelles, Le Roy. May 1924, no. 8." The miniature was called to my attention through the kindness of Dr. Hanns Swarzenski of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. The Carpentras manuscript is not published, so far as I know.

26. I obtained this information from the seminar on the International Style conducted by Dr. Erwin Panofsky, Princeton University, 1939, where it was shown that these manuscripts derived from Broederlam's famous retable

of the Chartreuse de Champmol now in the museum at Dijon. Dr. Panofsky hopes to publish this valuable material in the near future.

27. Add. MS 38527, fol. 90^v. A. W. Byvanck, *La miniature dans les Pays-Bas septentrionaux* (tr. A. Haye), Paris, 1937, p. 23.

28. Charles Sterling, *La peinture française. Les primitifs*, Paris, 1938, note 30. Previously P. A. Lemoisne (*Gothic Painting in France*, Florence, 1931, tr. A. Boothroyd, p. 62) had assigned it to southwest France.

29. Karl Oettinger, *Hans von Tübingen und seine Schule*, Berlin, 1938, pp. 50-52 and pls. 44-51.

created at the beginning of the 'twenties, if not earlier, and they contributed much to the formation of the style of Hans von Tübingen.³⁰ It is significant, therefore, that the painting by Hans von Tübingen which is nearest the Louvre panel in style is his *Agony in the Garden* of about 1425, and is his earliest known work.³¹ As a link between the Master of the Presentation and the early work of Hans, our Madonna leads us to the same conclusion as that reached by Meiss, that the work of the former must antedate that of the latter.³² This relationship affords us a date for the Louvre panel certainly not later than 1425 and probably earlier. We cannot go further than this, although we must admit the possibility that the Madonna could even antedate the Presentation Master.³³

About 1422 or shortly thereafter a Book of Hours for the Use of Paris was executed in the style of the Master of the Duke of Bedford. The manuscript is now in Vienna.³⁴ On folio 202 (Fig. 24) is a *Madonna of the Writing Christ Child* with the same curious departure from the normal iconography which we have seen elsewhere about this date, wherein the Child has finished the inscription, placed the pen in the inkpot, and is pulling His mother's cloak across her breast (cf. Figs. 4, 6). Likewise in Vienna, at the Museum of Art History, is an embroidered antependium, a part of the treasure of the Order of the Golden Fleece of Charles the Bold, which was transferred from Brussels to Vienna after the Treaty of Campo Formio in 1797. Here the central design (Fig. 23) portrays the Madonna and Child.³⁵ The theme is essentially the same as usual, varied to the extent that the Child neglects his writing in order to turn and perform the mystic marriage rite with St. Catherine. It is difficult to fix the place of manufacture of this cloth. Schlosser says it is French, and suggests that it may be a part of the work done by Thierry du Chastel of Paris for Philip the Good of Burgundy.³⁶ However that may be, the style belongs within the sphere of the Master of the Grandes Heures de Rohan and is to be compared particularly with the masterful Rohan Hours and the so-called Anjou Hours.³⁷ This atelier drew heavily upon the Parisian (?) "Bedford" workshop, and therefore may itself have been located in Paris about 1430-35. In point of style it owes much to the Jacquemart de Hesdin tradition, as filtered through the master who executed the Hours of the Maréchal de Boucicaut, and so we must fall back upon the loose epithet "Franco-Flemish."³⁸

The type is found in one more manuscript, a Book of Hours with a North French calendar, probably of Amiens (Fig. 26), datable about 1445.³⁹ The artist clearly knew the Boucicaut tradition. The date and the provenance of the book are very instructive, especially in the light of what we know about the Rhenish series of standing Madonnas, for just

30. "An Austrian Panel in the Huntington Library," *Art in America*, xxviii, 1940, 30-43.

31. Oettinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25 and pl. 1.

32. *Loc. cit.*, p. 43.

33. A similar case and date can be made out for the master who did the "Throne of Mercy" panel in the National Gallery, London, which might be of the same atelier as the Louvre Madonna in question. Oettinger has already pointed out that the painter of the London panel is related to the Master of the Presentation (*op. cit.*, pp. 73 ff.).

34. Nationalbibliothek, MS 1855. Hermann J. Hermann, *Die westeuropäischen Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Gotik und der Renaissance (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften Oesterreich, N.S., VIII, 7)*, Leipzig, 1938, III, 142-85, pl. LII, 2, with bibliographical notes.

35. Julius von Schlosser, *Der Burgundische Paramentenschatz des Ordens vom Goldenen Vliese*, Vienna, 1912, pls. 1, 4, 5.

36. *Op. cit.*, pp. 16-17. For Thierry see Léon La Borde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1849, pt. 2, vol. 1, entries

694, 972-81.

37. Paris, Bib. Nat. MSS fr. 1971 and 1156 A, respectively. On this master and this workshop see Adelheid Heimann, "Der Meister der 'Grandes Heures de Rohan' und seine Werkstatt," *Städel-Jahrb.*, VII-VIII, 1932, 1-61, with bibliographical footnotes. For the more recent attributions to this atelier see E. Panofsky, "Reintegration of a Book of Hours Executed in the Workshop of the 'Maître des Grandes Heures de Rohan,'" *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, Cambridge, 1939, II, 479 ff.

38. For these relationships see Miss Heimann's excellent discussion, *loc. cit.*, pp. 30-37.

39. Brussels, Bib. Roy., MS 9875, fol. 134. For the facts given here I am indebted to Dr. Frederick Lyna of the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, who has studied this manuscript preparatory to its publication. Cf. Joseph van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, Brussels, 1901, I. Miss Hope Wickersham called this miniature to my attention.

as the latter persisted within the general region of its origin, so too the seated type carried the tradition onward within its native territory for the same half-century.

The origin of this seated version in illuminated manuscripts is certainly established by these examples and their dates. The next work, a large woodcut broadsheet (Fig. 27) formerly affixed to the door of a house in Bassano, Italy, reflects that bookish status, but with a significant change in medium.⁴⁰ It is believed to be possibly Veronese in origin. Its technique dates it not earlier than 1450 and perhaps considerably later, although the work might be much earlier if judged by its style. Not only has a northern icon invaded Italy but the style also reflects northern influence. The parallelism of the history of this seated type with that of the Rhenish standing series continues in two respects: (1) the entrance of the image into the field of the graphic arts in the mid-fifteenth century (cf. Figs. 10 and 12), and (2) the international use of the theme from about this same time.

Although the iconography of the woodcut is uncertain because of its poor state of preservation, we are probably correct in including it here because there exists a painting in a private collection in Rome (Fig. 28) with a nearly identical group of the Madonna and Child, and here the writing theme is perfectly manifest. Furthermore, this picture is the work of an artist who is under the direct influence of Stefano da Verona, whose stylistic debt to northern art and particularly to that of Cologne is well known. In view of the dates of Stefano (*ca.* 1374–*ca.* 1438), and of the style of this picture, it seems likely that it dates about the middle of the century. As further evidence of the use of the image in Italy there is a painting in the Louvre of about 1500 attributed to Pintoricchio (Fig. 29). It may not be the work of the master himself, but it furnishes sufficient evidence for the presence of the writing theme and the inkpot in his circle.⁴¹

The latest example of the type is again from Spain, and the work this time is undeniably by Morales himself, with whom we have already associated the standing type. The picture in question is in the Sacristy of the Parish Church of Rocamador at Valencia de Alcántara. It is undated, but probably was painted around 1551.⁴² The iconography has been altered to omit the inkpot and to give the Madonna a pen instead. Once more we must ascribe the variations to processes of change that work the more easily for the remoteness of this picture from its archetype. The introduction of a pen into the hand of the Madonna here immediately calls to mind the subject of the *Magnificat*, which is traditionally ascribed to her.

These monuments verify through parallelism our analysis of the series of standing Madonnas. As in the case of the latter, the sequence runs from about 1400 to the middle of the sixteenth century, and from a single point in the north to many points throughout the continent. Now we may ask what this second genealogy has contributed toward our search for the artistic sources of the image. As yet we have learned nothing definite in this respect, but we have acquired two important facts with which to work: (1) that there are

40. Arthur M. Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut*, London, 1935, I, 160–61. This sheet is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

41. For the painting in the style of Stefano da Verona see R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, VII, The Hague, 1926, p. 310. Mr. William Forsyth, who has been keenly interested in this problem and has given me advice in the matter, brought this picture to my attention. For the Umbrian painting, see *ibid.*, XIV, The Hague, 1933, pp. 280–81; van Marle believes that this work is "too mediocre to ascribe to the master himself."

There is still further evidence of the presence of the image in Italy. Dr. Hanns Swarzenski has kindly informed me of a painting of the Madonna and Child enthroned in the Museo Civico, Cremona, where Christ writes A, B, C on a tablet. The panel is inscribed: *Hoc opus fieri fecit morina uxor Benedicti de puno 1448 die xv novembre*. I have never seen this painting, nor have I been able to locate a reproduction of it.

42. Cf. Daniel Berjano Escobar, *El pintor Luis de Morales (el Divino)*, Madrid, n.d., fig. on p. 84.

two recensions which have many points in common, suggesting the possibility that they may derive from one archetype, and (2) that this second group of works is definitely derived from book illustration. This last observation permits us to delimit the field in which we may search for origins, and so facilitates the finding of the ultimate sources of inspiration.

From the *terminus post quem* of about 1400 which we have established for all the monuments thus far examined, we may carry our investigations one step farther in the expectation of finding a single source of inspiration for the image of the writing Christ Child. The path of this investigation is suggested by the fact that we have entered the stylistic circle dominated by Jacquemart de Hesdin, and of which Jean Bondol de Bruges and André Beauneveu were the first prominent exponents.

It is well known that the partial or full designs of the principal illustrations for manuscript books were frequently transmitted by means of pattern-books.⁴³ One such book is now in The Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.⁴⁴ Its four leaves of thin boxwood and the two covers carry silverpoint sketches designed to be traced or copied into manuscripts. On the inside of the front cover is a carefully executed *Madonna of the Writing Christ Child*, but with no inkpot (Fig. 33). Examination reveals the curious fact, that the artist has attempted to constitute a design with motives suggestive of several icons already familiar to us, principally that of the writing Child. Most noticeable is the curious position of the Child, who is forced to fill several capacities at once—to write on a scroll laid across his lap and at the same time to give his attention to what transpires behind his back. Perhaps he is extending a welcome to the Magi, or a wedding-ring to St. Catherine (cf. Fig. 23). This sketch may have served as a model for either of these subjects. The style is identifiable immediately as very close to the tradition of André Beauneveu and Jacquemart de Hesdin, and is characteristic of about 1390 or so. It so happens that this silverpoint is related in style to another Madonna, a simple *Vierge allaitant*, one of the most beautifully drawn and colored miniatures of the period (Fig. 32). It is on a page which has been bound in with a Prayer Book which once belonged to Philippe le Hardi, and is now in the Royal Library at Brussels.⁴⁵ This Virgin has been attributed by Dr. Lyna to the Limbourgs. Its significance for us lies in noting the close relationship of this picture to the second miniature in the Brussels Hours, the Madonna and Child (Fig. 31). The first miniature in the Brussels Hours is a pendant to the second and is by the same hand; it represents the Duc de Berry with his patron saints Andrew and John the Baptist. The old attribution of this whole manuscript was to Beauneveu. Later, an inventory entry was discovered on the basis of which the same work was given to Jacquemart de Hesdin. This attribution persisted until it was discovered by Dr. Panofsky that these first two pages do not belong in their present context. Consequently they are now attributed to Beauneveu, Bondol, or someone close to them.⁴⁶ The history of their style, which stems from the art of Jean Pucelle, may be traced first in any one of a number of manuscripts of the early 1370's: for example, in the Brussels Library, manuscripts of Aristotle's *Ethics*⁴⁷ and Thomas de Cantimpré's

43. For bibliography see A. Heimann, *Städel-Jahrbuch*, VII-VIII, 1932, 35, note 83.

44. Roger Fry, "On a Fourteenth Century Sketch-book," *Burlington Magazine*, x, 1906-1907, 31-38. Louis Dimier attempts to prove that this pattern-book is a nineteenth-century work in "D'un album supposé du XIV siècle," *Mém. de la Soc. Nat. des Antiquaires de France*, LXXVIII, 1928-33, 12-23. Cf. Alfred Frankfurter, "Master

Drawings of the Renaissance," *Art News*, XXXVII, 1939, 182.

45. MS. 11035-37, fol. 6v. Camille Gaspard and F. Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, Paris, 1937, I, 419-23, with bibliographical notes. No black and white reproduction does justice to this exquisite picture.

46. Bibliography cited by *ibid.*, pp. 407-409.

47. MS 9505-06; *ibid.*, pp. 354 ff., and pl. LXXVIII.



FIG. 26. Brussels, Bibl. Royale: MS 9875, Book of Hours, North French, *ca.* 1455, fol. 134



FIG. 28. Rome, Private Collection: Follower of Stefano da Zevio, Panel, *ca.* 1450



FIG. 27. London, Victoria and Albert Museum: Woodcut, North Italian, *ca.* 1450 (?)



FIG. 29. Paris, Louvre: Pintoricchio(?), Madonna and Saints, *ca.* 1500



FIG. 30. Hal, Notre Dame: Madonna from Southwest Portal, *ca.* 1400



FIG. 31. Brussels, Bibl. Royale: MS 11060-61, Hours of Jean, Duc de Berry, Franco-Flemish, *ca.* 1380, fol. 6



FIG. 32. Brussels, Bibl. Royale: MS 11035-37, Hours of Philippe le Hardi, Franco-Flemish, *ca.* 1390, fol. 11



FIG. 33. New York, Morgan Library: Sketchbook, Silverpoint on Boxwood, Franco-Flemish, *ca.* 1390



FIG. 34. Hildesheim, St. Andrew's: Relief, *ca.* 1410-15



FIG. 35. Paris, Bibl. Nationale: MS. Fr. 926, dated 1406, fol. 2



FIG. 36. Paris, Louvre: Ivory Statuette, Franco-Flemish, 1380-1390

Le Bien Universel,⁴⁸ both dated 1372; in The Hague, the Bible of Charles V, illuminated by Jean Bondol de Bruges, dated 1371.⁴⁹ In the matter of style, all these works are connected with the name of the Maître aux Boquetaux,⁵⁰ in whose atelier Jean Bondol played an important part.⁵¹ As a group they anticipate the style of the first two miniatures of the Brussels Hours.

This style development continues from the 1370's onward. The change to heavier and more self-sufficient figures and the increased attention given to perspective in the enlarging of the ground space around the figures, however slight, brings us still closer to the Brussels pages. Two manuscripts of 1376 illustrate this point: a copy of Aristotle's *Ethics* in The Hague⁵² and of St. Augustine's *Cité de Dieu* in Paris.⁵³ The same general treatment is found likewise in the *Petites Heures* executed by Jacquemart de Hesdin.⁵⁴ While it would be untrue to say that the first two miniatures of the Brussels Hours are by the same hand as any of the last three manuscripts, it is obvious that the former are, nevertheless, approximately stylistic contemporaries of the latter, and postdate them by very little. It seems highly probable that they were executed within a decade of those manuscripts dated in 1376, or, in other words, about 1380.⁵⁵

We may now return to our more specific concern, the relationship of the Morgan Library silverpoint sketch (Fig. 33), the *Vierge allaitant* from Philippe le Hardi's Prayer Book (Fig. 32) and the Madonna in the second Brussels miniature (Fig. 31). The first can be equated with the second in style, pose, and the Madonna's moody air of detachment. On the other hand, in the second, the head of the Christ Child is seen to be virtually line for line the same as His head in the third, although the one is a mirror reversal of the other. A comparison of the first with the third example sustains the relationships thus demonstrated, for in the silverpoint the Virgin's right hand has been adapted from the same hand of the Brussels Madonna, with this difference: the two bent fingers which hold the scroll in the Brussels figure have been straightened in the silverpoint (there being no scroll for the hand to grasp). This adjustment has resulted in an awkward articulation of the hand, which therefore has been partially concealed by the designer under folds of drapery. It would be less convincing to explain these similarities and differences in any other way. Since both the Morgan Library silverpoint and the Virgin from the Prayer Book are thus demonstrably derived from the Brussels Madonna, they could not antedate that model, and it seems more likely that they would postdate it, and belong after ca. 1380. On the other hand, we are reasonably safe in assuming that they come before the turn of the century, which is marked by the advent of the inkpot motive. Corroborating this is the observation that while the style of the Morgan silverpoint is still reminiscent of the manuscripts of 1376, it clearly shows an

48. MS 9507; *ibid.*, pp. 352 ff., pl. LXXVII.

49. Mus. Meermannno-Westreenianum, MS 10.B.23; A. W. Byvanck, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale des Pays-Bas et du Musée Meermannno-Westreenianum à La Haye*, Paris, 1924, pp. 104 ff., pls. XLVIII ff.

50. First employed by Henry Martin in *La miniature française du XIII^e au XV^e siècle*, Paris and Brussels, 1923, pp. 44 ff.

51. A. W. Byvanck, *Les principaux manuscrits*, pp. 106 ff.

52. Mus. Meermannno-Westreenianum, MS 10.D.1; *ibid.*, 110 ff., pls. LII-LIII.

53. Bib. Nat., MS fr. 22912; Martin, *op. cit.*, pls. 58-60.

54. Paris, Bib. Nat., MS lat. 18014; *ibid.*, pl. 70; cf. also V. Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Biblio-*

thèque Nationale, Paris, 1927, pls. xiv ff.

55. The establishment of this date for the two Brussels pages is of great interest in another respect, since it affords a *terminus post quem non* of ca. 1380 for another ancestor of the Brussels second miniature. I refer to the prophet figures in Beauneveu's Psalter of the Duc de Berry, from which the Brussels page obviously stems. This Psalter has hitherto been dated loosely as "end of the fourteenth century" (Paris, Bib. Nat., MS fr. 13091; Henry Martin, *Les joyaux de l'enluminure à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris and Brussels, 1928, pls. 61-63; Camille Couderc, *Les enluminures des manuscrits du moyen âge . . . de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1927, pl. XLIX; H. Martin, *La miniature française*, pls. 67-68; bibliographies cited by these authors).

advance over them in the conception of the form and the placing of the figures, and yet on the other hand it is not yet in the style of that portion of the Brussels Hours executed by Jacquemart de Hesdin probably in the last decade of the century. Thus we may limit the time of the production of the silverpoint and its companion, the Virgin from the Prayer Book, to a space of about twenty years. I am inclined to believe that the style of these two is closer to 1390 than to 1380.

It is hypothetical to state that one image intended for manuscripts gave birth to a theme which subsequently achieved international recognition, but there is additional evidence which we may introduce here to support such a contention. The picture of the writing Christ Child, first found to our knowledge in the Brussels Hours, was repeated in several media: ivory, tempera on vellum, stone, and perhaps embroidery. These copies, which certify the popularity of the model, are the following: (1) a reproduction of the miniature in ivory, which is faithful to the picture to a surprising degree considering the limitations of the medium (Fig. 36);⁵⁶ in view of its style it does not seem likely that this statuette, which is now in the Louvre, could postdate the model by more than ten years, and is probably from the years 1380-1390; (2) a manuscript in Paris, inscribed 1406, which repeats the image on folio 2, with certain slight variations (Fig. 35);⁵⁷ (3) a copy in stone in the form of a votive or funerary plaque from Hildesheim, Germany, of about 1410-1415, which testifies at once to the errant nature of some pattern-book and to the international appeal of this image (Fig. 34).⁵⁸

A close examination of the first two miniatures of the Brussels Hours affords interesting evidence concerning the beginnings of the icon. It has been pointed out that there is considerable difference in the handling of the perspective problem in the two pictures. On the donor page is converging-line perspective of the sort first used by Bondol and known to us from his Bible of Charles V (1376), cited above. The miniature of the Madonna on the other page, to the contrary, employs the more archaic "herring-bone" perspective. Since both are undoubtedly the work of the same hand, it is possible that the Virgin icon was copied from an existing model in the older style, and the adjoining page then adapted to it in the new style. The total effect is bipartite and not unified. This disunity is rectified by Jacquemart de Hesdin on page 14 in the body of the manuscript, where he brings the two groups into sympathetic human relationship in one picture. He chose to discard the more symbolic and hieratic form of the Madonna with the writing and nursing motive, and to revise the old style to harmonize with the new.⁵⁹

It is apparent that this writing Christ Child image was at first perpetuated as a nursing type. Then, around 1400, in the tide of the new realism, the Madonna acquired the picturesque attribute of the inkpot. That the nursing-writing nexus was indeed prerequisite for all the groups of the inkpot-writing type we have demonstrated partially within the

56. Raymond Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques françaises*, Paris, 1924, pl. cxiv, no. 706. He says that the banderole is restored (ii, pp. 254-55). The relationship of this piece to the Brussels Hours miniature was pointed out by Miss Heimann in *Städel-Jahrbuch*, VII-VIII, 1932, 22, n. 47. Its Flemish character was noted sometime ago by E. Lütgen in *Die niederrheinische Plastik*, Strassburg, 1917, p. 227.

57. Bib. Nat., MS fr. 926. This picture is also noted by Miss Heimann, *loc. cit.*

58. V. Curt Habicht, *Die mittelalterliche Plastik Hildesheims (Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte)*, 195), Strassburg, 1917, pl. xx, fig. 47.

It is probable that the image was copied in embroidery also: A. de Champeaux and P. Gauchery (*Les travaux d'art exécutés pour Jean de France Duc de Berry*, Paris, 1894, p. 28 and n. 1) cite the following inventory item from Ste.-Chapelle at Chambéry: "Item duo tabulle de brodatura in quarum une in ymago beate Marie cum filio in brachiis, in altera vero ymagines beati Johannis Baptiste et sancti Andree et in media dictarum duarum ymaginum dux Byturie; que sunt incluse in nemore."

59. For these considerations on perspective vide E. Panofsky, "Die Perspektive als 'symbolische' Form," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, IV, 1924-25, n. 50 and fig. 27.

Beauneveu-Jacquemart de Hesdin tradition. Several additional circumstances lend such strong support to this theory that it becomes a probability. In the first place it is apparent that in the standing or sculptural form of our icon, we have in effect a superimposition of the writing and inkpot motives on preëxistent Madonna and Child types—the *Vierge allaitant* and the type with the Child pulling the mantle over the Virgin's breast. The proof lies in the actual occurrence of this phenomenon of superimposition elsewhere. I refer to the exceptional example of the writing Child from the Church of Notre Dame at Hal, Belgium, mentioned earlier (Fig. 30).⁶⁰ There we have the combination of the writing Christ with the simplest standing Mother and Child group. There are several pertinent facts to observe concerning the Hal statue. Dated generally at the turn of the century, it is the earliest standing statue of this iconography known. In addition, and just as we would expect, it is transitional in the same sense as the Morgan silverpoint sketch, for there is no longer any nursing motive and as yet the inkpot has not appeared. Thus Hal shows the adaptation of the writing motive from the seated nursing type to the normal monumental sculptural type, the standing figure. Furthermore, the statue is from the southern tip of the duchy of Brabant, at the point where it borders on the Franco-Flemish county of Hainaut, which in turn is the specific milieu of André Beauneveu of Valenciennes. We therefore are not surprised that the statue recalls the style of the illustrious carved stone figure of St. Catherine at Courtrai, which is often ascribed to Beauneveu or his school.⁶¹ This significant work at Hal thus enables us to witness the transition from the seated-nursing antecedents to the standing type *within the tradition of the source itself*.

A final retrospective consideration of the Korbasse Madonna at Mainz (Fig. 1), with which we opened our discussion, confirms our proposed derivation of the inkpot type from the nursing type in the following manner: the pendant to this statue, the Carmelite Cloister Madonna (Fig. 3) utilizes the gesture we have noted before (Figs. 4, 6, 24) of the Child who has finished writing, and is depicted as drawing the veil of His Mother's garment across her breast to indicate that He is through nursing. The representation of the one motive beside the other, in pendant statues, explicitly demonstrates the transition from the nursing to the inkpot type. It also furnishes the explanation for the presence of this garment motive in combination with the inkpot in the three later pictures which we have examined, and reveals their true nature as throwbacks to the transitional type. The skeletal stemma of the icon appears on page 304.

We may now inquire if the originating artist embodied in this image any further elements beyond these merely perceptual ones, and ask, "Did the icon reside in a literary figure before the artist realized it in paint?" In effect, the change in the iconography which takes place about 1400 substitutes the inkpot for the breast of the Virgin. Remembering that the nursing Child writes, we see the validity of such a conception if we turn to medieval church literature. Honorius of Autun, for example, commenting on the *Cantica canticorum*, sees in the Bride of this epithalamion a personification of the Church.⁶² He says, "The material of this book concerns the bridegroom and the bride, that is, Christ and the Church."⁶³ After quoting the lines, "Better are your two breasts than wine," he says the breasts are the two Testaments from which comes the milk of doctrine.⁶⁴ Moreover, all this imagery is

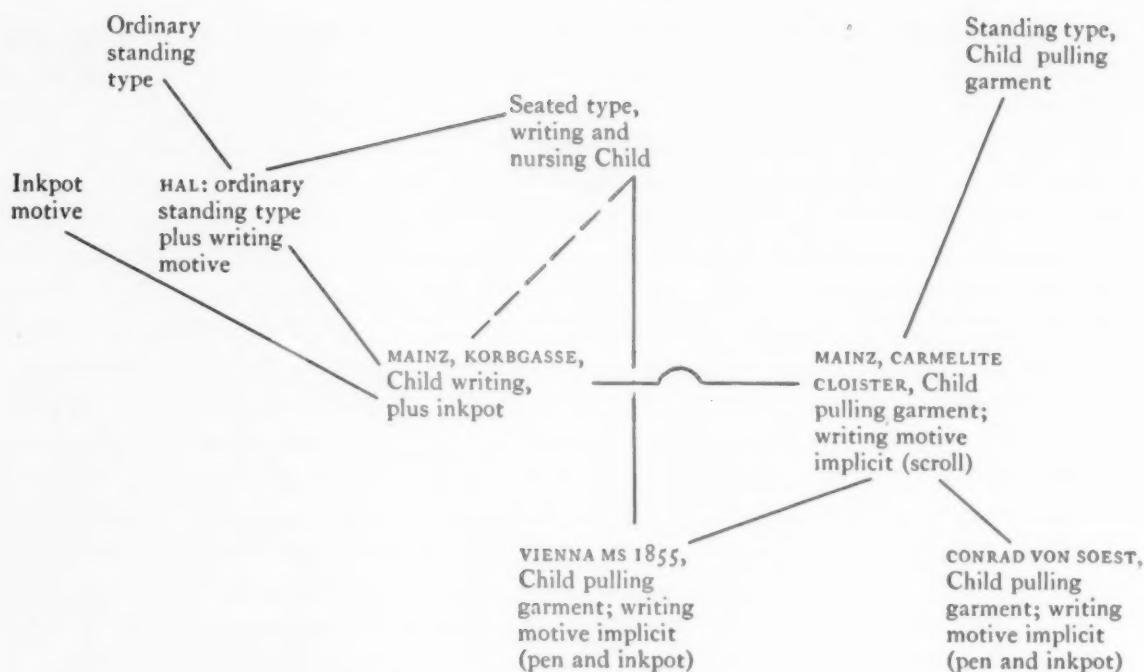
60. Richard Hamann, "Spätgotischen Skulpturen der Wallfahrtskirche in Hal" (*Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, ed. P. Clemen, chap. ix), Munich, 1923, pp. 224-26, and pl. 30.

61. H. Fierens-Gevaert, *La renaissance septentrionale et les premiers maîtres des Flandres*, Brussels, 1905, pl. opp. p. 16.

62. "Exposito super Cantica Canticorum," Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clxii, cols. 347 ff.

63. *Loc. cit.*, col. 349.

64. "Dicit ergo: meliora sunt ubera tua vino, id est doctrina de duobus Testamentis tuis, videlicet operibus, prolata, qua filios tuos in fide parvulos lactas et nutris



applicable not only to the Church but likewise to Mary, who is regarded at once as the Mother of Christ, the Bride of the *Cantica canticorum*, and a personification of the Church.⁶⁵ But this explains only the motivating idea behind the hundreds of nursing Madonnas from which type our variety depends, and it fails to tell us anything about the writing Christ Child. That Honorius' words themselves might have been conducive to the idea of the writing Infant is suggested by certain passages, but the possibility is nullified by his comments elsewhere.

The important question is, "What does the Child actually write in these works which we are studying?" Although most of the original inscriptions have been obliterated, we can decipher five of them. Of this number, two are the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6: 9-13; Figs. 21, 35), the third reads *Ego sum lux mundi et via veritatis* (John 8: 12, plus the phrase *et via veritatis*; Fig. 28), the fourth gives a similar text in German, *Ich bin der Wech de Warrheit und Leven* (John 14: 6; Fig. 4), and the fifth is *Discite a me, quia mitis sum, et humilis corde . . .* (Matt. 9: 29; Fig. 19).⁶⁶ All are the words of Christ the Teacher. Concerning the exact source which inspired this conception of the Madonna with the Child writing words of which He Himself was the author, a number of diverse theories have been proffered.

melior est" (*loc. cit.*, col. 361); "memores uberum tuum, hoc est in memoria habentes memoriam utriusque legis, quae sunt ubera tua, etc." (col. 367); "Ubera Ecclesiae sunt docti in utraque lege, qui parvulis in Christo infundunt lac doctrinae mulsam de utraque lege" (col. 414); "uberis vero Ecclesia sunt magistri, in utraque lege docti" (col. 422); "uberis Ecclesia sunt duo Testamenta, de quibus sugunt praedicatores lac mysticae intelligentiae" (col. 466).

65. "Hic libro ideo ligatur de festo S. Mariae, quia ipsa gessit typum Ecclesiae, quae virgo est et mater . . . Et ideo omnia quae de Ecclesia dicta sunt, possunt etiam de ipsa Virgine, sponsa et Matre Sponsi intelligi," etc. (*ibid.*, col. 494).

66. A sixth, which I have never seen, is reported by von Einem (*Alt-Hildesheim*, x, 1930, p. 16). It must be discarded as unsuitable evidence, for it is painted on the carved

stone statue from Hildesheim Cathedral (our Fig. 9). It reads "Magnificat anima mea dominum . . ." and has misled von Einem into adducing Botticelli as a parallel. The practice of representing the Infant displaying an inscribed scroll to the observer is a fourteenth-century development which is characteristically Siennese. It may stem from Simone Martini's *Maestà* of 1315. The basis of this practice is the tendency of that time to allow to the Christ Child the same attributes previously identified only with the adult historical Christ. The departure from a strict adherence to the Gospel text in our third example is paralleled elsewhere in Italian painting. Compare, for example, a panel attributed to Simone Martini now in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome (R. van Marle, *Italian Schools of Painting*, II, The Hague, 1924, fig. 124) where the apocryphal phrase "ego sum flos floris" is added.

Friederich Back has suggested an Upper Hesse folk-song as a source for the writing or painting Christ Child.⁶⁷ In view of what we now know of this iconography it is impossible to follow him in this localization. The song would be, rather, a minor literary echo of an established conception, and in this connection we may note that one of our images (Fig. 5) is from Hesse. W. H. James Weale, discussing the Bruges panel (Fig. 17), relates it at once to two conflicting sources, neither of which satisfies our requirements.⁶⁸ This picture, he says, is probably in honor of Our Lady of Aardenburg near Bruges. There are two versions of her miracles there, but in each instance the legend and the miraculous statue have to do only with saving criminals who have been sentenced to hang, and there can be no connection with our images. Weale also says that the pen and vellum in Christ's hand commemorate the popular legend of the clerk Theophilus, but there Mary and not Christ plays the important rôle, and the writing is done by Theophilus.⁶⁹ Manuals made to guide the limners of medieval Psalters show that Psalm 44, an integral part of the Offices of the Virgin, was generally regarded as a definite reference to her, and this passage was frequently adorned with one kind or another of mariological picture, often with the Christ Child.⁷⁰ In this Psalm we read, "My tongue is like the pen of a scribe writing swiftly." Aside from the obvious discrepancies between this simile and our image, we must face the fact that none of our writing Christs is depicted in this context. For a similar reason we cannot accept another often proposed source, namely the *Magnificat* (Luke 1: 46-56), for these words are attributed to Mary and even Elizabeth, but never to Christ.⁷¹ In this connection Botticelli's *Madonna of the Magnificat* is always cited, but here Mary writes, not Christ. Helbig, without stating his reasons, says that the theme of the writing Child was derived from Italy. Such a contention loses credibility in view of the evidence we have examined. Likewise, any contention that the theme arose from a genre-like interpretation of the education of Christ must be discarded for the reason that no representation of the writing Christ Child appears in that connection until the middle of the fifteenth century, and then there are only two examples to my knowledge: (1) a woodcut *Anna Selbdritt* in St. Gall, and (2) an enthroned *Madonna of the Writing Christ Child* in Cremona (*vide supra*, note 41).⁷² The former is iconographically unique and does not properly belong in the series we are examining. Finally, Feigel traces the writing motive to a specific Mainz devotion still in use today, which addresses a separate prayer to each of Christ's five wounds.⁷³ The one for the right hand reads: "Lasset uns beten. O Herr Jesu Christe, durch das heilige Sakrament, durch Deinen allerheiligsten, darin verborgenen Fronleibnam, durch die heilige Wunde Deiner rechten Hand und durch das Blut, das daraus geflossen ist, erbarme Dich unser. Gib uns mit dieser Deiner edlen Hand Deinen Segen und Deine Gnade, schreibe mit dem blutigen Nagel, wie mit einer Feder, uns hier ein in die Versammlung Deiner Diener und Dienerinnen, und dort in die Zahl Deiner zu Deiner rechten stehenden Auserwählten in der ewigen Glorie." No date is adduced by Feigel for these prayers. Furthermore, Christ here writes with His own Blood and not with ink; the resemblance of the pen of the Korbasse statue

67. *Mittelrheinische Kunst*, p. 24. The poem is worth quoting:

"Herr Jesus schreib ein Breifelein
Nicht mehr als zwei, drei Wort:
Mein Vater wohnt im Himmel,
An einem schönen, schönen Ort."

68. *Burlington Magazine*, 1, 1903, 205-206.

69. Franz von Sales Doyé, *Heilige und Selige der römisch-katholischen Kirche*, Leipzig, 1929, II, 413.

70. Samuel Berger, *Les manuels pour l'illustration du*

Psautier au XIII^e siècle, Paris, 1897, with bibliographical footnotes.

71. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, x (1), Paris, 1931, cols. 1125 ff.

72. For Helbig's contention see his work, *La sculpture au pays de Liège*, 10th ed., Bruges, 1890, p. 118 and n. 1. For the St. Gall woodcut see P. Heitz, *Einblattdrucke des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, III, 1906, no. 4.

73. *Festschrift für H. Schrohe*, Mainz, 1934, pp. 79-82.

to a nail proves nothing. Like Back's Hesse folk-song, this prayer appears to be a reflection of the previously existing icon.

In our attempt to locate the proper source for the image, it is worth noting that the *Madonna of the Writing Christ Child* is a devotional image, which is to say, an image intended to assist a worshipper to achieve contemplative submersion in the subject which the icon represents.⁷⁴ It is part and parcel of a desire to make the intangible concrete, on the one hand, and on the other to sublimate reality. This is what we generally refer to by the term "mysticism." In seeking the source for this particular devotional image, we should examine the writings of the great mystics of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Foremost among these were the Minorites, of whom St. Francis was the founder, and Bonaventura the leading voice. A distinction must be made between those references to God as *scribe* and those to God as *author*. In speaking of the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard, Bonaventura says God "*hoc opus non scripsit digito suo.*"⁷⁵ The denial of God as the "writer," in the narrower sense of the word, in this particular instance, implies that Bonaventura could conceive of Him engaged in this activity. Elsewhere, Bonaventura uses the phrase, "*solus Christus est doctor et auctor,*"⁷⁶ and here the term *auctor* appears to mean "literary author." We are, however, unable to refer to any passage in the works of Bonaventura or of other Franciscans, in which the wielding of the pen is described, or to cite any phrase which would seem to suggest a source or analogy for the *Madonna of the Writing Christ Child*. A study of the Dominican mystics, whose thought was especially influential in the Rhine valley where our image flourished, likewise has thus far failed to reveal any literary origin for the motive. The popularity of the type, nevertheless, proves that it embodied in an expressive way sentiments current in the culture of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Summary: The image under discussion is a variation of the simplest Madonna and Child icon. Conceived about 1380, probably in the Hainaut, it achieved considerable popularity in northern Europe within the Bondol-Beauneveu-Jacquemart de Hesdin tradition. Subsequently it underwent two phases of geographical dispersion. In the first, about 1400, it assumed two forms which gave rise to two separate iconographical recensions—a seated type which can be traced to Ypres, and a standing type disseminated from Mainz. In the second phase, an international one, the spread began about 1450 and continued for approximately a century, then suddenly expired.

[PRINCETON UNIVERSITY]

74. E. Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis," in *Festschrift für Max J. Friedlaender*, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 264 ff.

75. *Opera omnia*, Florence, Quaracchi, 1882-1902, I, 14b.

76. *Ibid.*, 15a.



FIG. 1. Embroidered Border Drawn by Georges Boissonet, 1610

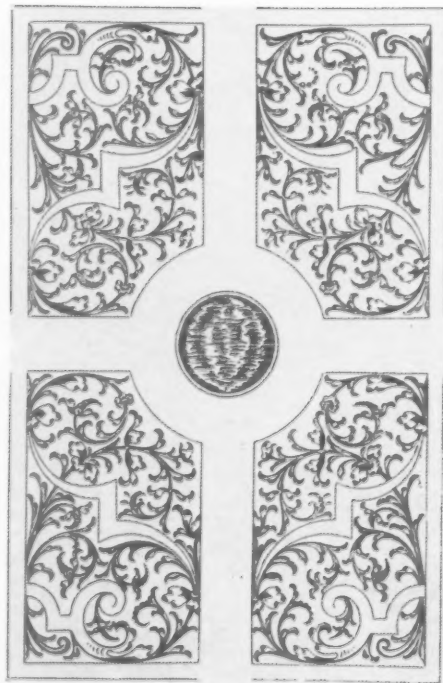


FIG. 2. Parterre en Broderie by Jacques Boyceau, before 1638



FIG. 3. Arabesque Design by Charles Le Brun



FIG. 4. Vaux-le-Vicomte: Arabesques from Designs by Le Brun, ca. 1660

SOURCES AND EVOLUTION OF THE ARABESQUE OF BERAIN

BY FISKE KIMBALL

APPRECIATION that it was the arabesque of Berain which gave the initial stimulus to the creation of rococo ornament,¹ through its transference by Pierre Lepautre from painted field to moulded and carved frame,² has led us to inquire further as to its own sources, which have remained obscure.

R. A. Weigert, in his recent and otherwise comprehensive study of Berain,³ gives little attention either to the genesis or to the internal development of Berain's style. Certainly there is nothing we know of the work of Henry de Gissey—his predecessor in his official charge, who is named in a document produced by Weigert as the "maître de M. Berain," and who may well have inducted him into pageantry—which would explain the character of his arabesques.

Rudolph Berliner speaks of Berain's ornament as the fruit of a "sudden and complete turning away from the style of his immediate forerunners, which had been essentially determined by Italy, and the resumption of the development in the North broken off a century before."⁴ He adds, among other observations, some of them very just, to which we shall recur, that we must exclude the view that Berain's style was an imaginative development of that represented by such immediate predecessors as Charmeton. We need not doubt that, as Berliner says, Berain was widely familiar with the works of ornamentalists a century earlier,⁵ but we shall see that there were sources much closer at hand.

The failure to recognize that Berain's arabesque, while given by him such a genial and creative development, did indeed have immediate sources in French decoration of his time, has been due to a malady characteristic of students of engraved ornament—failure to look outside the cycle of engraved plates to executed works in other media, often by artists of greater stature than the diffusers of engraved models. We shall here attempt to show that Berain's stimulus came directly from the work of the great decorator after whose designs his own first plates of arabesques were executed, Charles Le Brun, behind whom lay already a long development of distinctive elements, characteristically French.

To avoid any imputation of subjectivity in the analysis of Berain's arabesque, I quote two of the leading characterizations:

Sein Bereich ist die Fläche. Linienzüge und Bänder vollen Schwunges und anmutigen Wechsels macht er zum Gerüst . . . die Kurve unterwirft sich den Akanthus. . . . Über alles aber schüttet er versöhnend die unnachämliche Grazie seines Wesens aus, das siegessichere Flächengefühl und die fröhliche Fülle des Beiwerks, das ihm zumal seine Bühnentätigkeit immer nun zu Verfügung stellte . . . an Treppen, Tempelchen, Lattenwerk und Baldachinen, an Göttern, Satyrn und Äffchen.⁶

Das Bandwerk als Material des neu erwachenden Kurvendranges, den Kampf gegen das innere Gesetz des rechteckigen Rahmes mit gleichmässig gespannter Füllung und eine ganze Zahl immer

1. R. Sedlmaier, *Grundlagen der Rokoko-Ornamentik in Frankreich*, Strassburg, 1917.

2. Kimball, "The Creation of the *Style Louis XV*," *ART BULLETIN*, XXIII, 1941, 1-15.

3. *Jean I Berain*, Paris, 1937.

4. *Ornementale Vorlageblätter*, Leipzig, 1925-1926, p. 166.

5. He cites a copy by Berain, preserved at the Victoria and Albert Museum, from an Aldegraver print, and mentions Cornelis Floris and Vredeman de Vries as particularly influential.

6. P. Jessen, *Der Ornamentstich*, Berlin, 1920, p. 219.

wiederkehrender Einzellösungen zur Sammlung, Verschließung, Ueberleitung und Trennung all der mannigfachen Kurvenrichtungen, die gewissermassen den leichter rhythmisierten Pulsschlag des ornamentalen Lebens verkörpern.⁷

Both well emphasize the basic importance in Berain's compositions of the bandwork, to which acanthus scrolls are subordinate—distinguishing Berain's arabesque from the classical arabesque of the Renaissance. It is, of course, not the mere presence of this element, itself with a long history, which characterizes Berain's work, but the particular manner of its employment. Scrolls of powerful inner swing, united by short straight bars, are paired symmetrically, with palmette-like radiations from their junctions, and garnished with a divergent, reverse-curved leaf of acanthus at their free terminations. In effect though not in genesis, it is as if the traditional system of spiral or undulating acanthus foliage were transformed by substituting for the continuous curving stems curved and broken bands,⁸ retaining the leaf as a vestigial accessory, and often accompanied by subordinate acanthus stems of conventional form. What is important for us is the precise way in which this manner of employment arose historically and entered into the arabesque of Berain.

We may, at this point, briefly recall his career. It is worth noting that this was achieved entirely in France, without study in Italy. Born in 1640 at Saint Mihiel, son of a master-gunsmith, he came in youth to Paris, where his uncle Claude was established in the same vocation. Jean Berain first appears in 1659 as engraver of a suite *Diverses pièces . . . pour les Arquebuzières*. It offers no hint of his later, developed style, does not differ substantially in type of forms from the plates engraved in 1660 by Jacquinet after works of Thuraïne and Le Hollandais, *Arquebuziers Ordinaires de Sa Majesté*. These represented, as their title said, "models des plus nouvelles manières qui sont en usage en l'art d'arquebuzerie," still dominated by the tradition of the guilds, and backward in relation to the newer style already being formed at the hands of Vouet and Le Brun. But a single other work of Berain can surely be placed prior to 1670, the *Diverses Pièces de Serruriers inventées par Hugues Brisville et gravés par Jean Berain*, probably from 1663. It includes many scrolls of acanthus leafage, but very few scrolled bars comparable with bandwork. In the design for an iron baluster, Plate 5, to be sure, we find, very naturally, pairs of opposite scrolls with short connecting bars approximating the mouldings and fillets of the conventional baluster profile. At best we get little hint of the development to follow.

Berain, however, emerging from the circle of the guilds, was now to come under more advanced artistic influences, and to find a more stimulating environment at the court. He was paid from 1671 for certain plates of ornaments of the Galerie d'Apollon, engraved for the Bâtiments du Roi. By brevet of December 25, 1674 he was named *Dessinateur de la Chambre et du Cabinet du Roi*, a post in the Menus-Plaisirs which he held until his death in 1711. The duties of the position were to provide "toutes sortes de desseins, perspectives, Figures et habits qu'il conviendrait Faire pour les Comédies, Balets, Courses de bagues et Carrousels," and his activities in the early years were precisely in such fields.

Prior to the mid-seventeenth century, there had already been three chief successive phases in the evolution of grotesque—in France, by the end of the century, called arabesque,⁹ in spite of its classical origin—that playful, transitory, dream-like ornament which permitted the most fanciful union of varied elements, its very essence lying in its irreality.

7. Sedlmaier, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

8. Cf. W. Jähnecke, *Über die Entwicklung der Akanthusranke im französischen Rokoko*, Hanover, 1902, p. 13.

9. The Italians of the sixteenth century already used

"rabeschi" to describe the pilaster ornaments of acanthus foliage. In France we find in 1684 "Rabesques d'après Raphaël" used in the present sense.

Following classical suggestions, the early Renaissance, both in Italy and elsewhere, had used it as a carved ornament, in narrow vertical panels such as those of pilasters, basing its form primarily on a central stem or candelabra, with branching scrolls of light foliage. Raphael, in the Loggie of the Vatican, had taken a new initiative, stimulated more directly by the painted and modeled ornament of buried Roman buildings, the "grottoes," which gave the name of *grotteschi* or grotesques. Raphael's grotesques were chiefly painted, although they incorporated stucco medallions in relief; they preserved the character of narrow panels and bands. In the hands of the Roman mannerists, the painted arabesques were transformed by application to broad surfaces, sometimes with three-dimensional central scenes, light baldachinos framing mythological figures, with surrounding surface patterns often of the greatest attenuation. There was frequent employment of flat bars or bands, often disjointed, parallel to the borders or in step-like angles, reflected in France in Du Cerceau's grotesque suite of 1566. In stuccoes at the Villa di Papa Giulio we even find, by exception, such bands combined with opposite scrolls. In Rome also appeared the cartouche, at first modeled in relief, with a frame of rollwork, its scrolls curling forward. In the marble floors and incrustations, such as those of Bernini in the tomb of S. Francesca Romana at S. Maria Nuova, there was even a hint of the future French developments in the bandwork of C-scrolls, with scrolled crossettes set off by a leaf.

In northern Europe the carved arabesques of the early Renaissance had been followed immediately by the mannerist forms. In the School of Fontainebleau they acquired a distinctive character, with broad central fields, often painted, surrounded by borders of varied ornaments of plastic character including much rollwork, as well as interlaces of continuous flat bands in geometrical patterns. In the engraved designs of Flemings and Dutchmen such as Cornelis Floris and Vredeman de Vries (the activity of the latter extending into the seventeenth century) there was a great development of the rollwork as pierced strapwork, sometimes with C-scrolls united by short straight bands—characteristically, but not without exception, curling forward. None of the forms of bandwork so far mentioned, except that of Bernini, has a close analogy with that which we shall find in the later French arabesque.

Independent of all these were the continuous bands appearing in the veritable "moresques" of Islamic derivation, in interlace, lozenge, trefoil, and other patterns. The title *Passements de moresques*, of an anonymous work of 1563,¹⁰ suggests the adaptability of such patterns for the braids and galloons of embroiderers, who were in fact some of the chief users of such patterns, in the technique of appliqué. At the end of the sixteenth century, we find numerous actual embroideries with flat *passements*, fillets or braids in opposite C-scrolls, united by short straight bars.¹¹ While it is difficult to date these executed specimens exactly, we have manuscript designs and sketches by Georges Boissonet of Reims,¹² dated as early as 1610 (Fig. 1), of embroideries which include similar forms. This is fortunate, for it is at just this moment that the publication of model-books, which had propagated Renaissance designs of lace, basically Italian, comes to an end with the passage of the vogue of such designs,¹³ so that none of such model-books includes bandwork of the sort we are discussing. Moreover the chief engraved French designs of the century for embroideries and woven stuffs, those of Paul Androuet du Cerceau (1630-1710), while they contain such scrolled bands in connection with acanthus foliage, were published too late to bear on the date of

10. Reproduced by R. Berliner, *op. cit.*, pl. 95.

11. L. de Farcy, *La broderie du XI^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours, d'après des spécimens authentiques et les anciens inventaires*, Angers, 1890, e.g. II, pls. 83, 91.

12. *Ibid.*, II, pl. 100.

13. Cf. Arthur Lotz, *Bibliographie der Modellbücher . . . 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, 1933, especially p. 29.

adoption of these forms. Clearly, however, the forms were in common use by French embroiderers early in the seventeenth century.

Such forms were adopted also in French garden design under Henry IV and Louis XIII, with a name which indicates their derivation from embroidery. From earlier times there had been occasional use in parterres of armorial bearings and of ciphers. Claude Mollet, *Premier Jardinier* under these kings, lays claim, very circumstantially, to the invention of "parterres et compartimens en broderie," of which numerous designs, prepared by his sons during his lifetime, are included in his *Theatre des plans et Jardinages*,¹⁴ issued posthumously in 1652. Substantially identical in style with these are the parterres of Jacques Boyceau—who as *Intendant des Jardins* of Louis XIII, laid out the first gardens of Versailles—appearing in his posthumous *Traité de Jardinage*, 1638 (Fig. 2). Both include bandwork as well as foliage. Indeed it is in their garden designs, among all the engraved surface patterns of whatever sort known to me, that we first find bandwork combined with acanthus foliage in the general manner which was to be characteristic of the later French arabesque—that is to say, with flat C-scrolls connected by short straight bars, with palmettes of foliage radiating from the junction of opposite scrolls. A minor feature already found here was the leaf of acanthus diverging from the termination of the scroll—a feature which, in the sequel, was to become universally characteristic.¹⁵ We can scarcely doubt that these novel garden patterns, so conspicuously used and so much admired, were not without influence on the subsequent development of the French arabesque, in which these forms were later to appear.

A new vogue of painted arabesques in France was inaugurated by Vouet, under the influence of Italian mannerism to which he had been subjected. Vouet painted the panels of the Appartement des Bains de la Reine-Mère at the Palais Royal in 1643.¹⁶ The central medallions are of geometrical form—mostly oval and octagonal, rarely with rollwork—buttressed by pairs of supporting figures, with acanthus foliage and other motives. Similar compositions of large scale occur at the Arsenal.¹⁷ At the Hôtel Lambert minor arabesques abound in the rooms decorated by Lesueur, 1645–1649,¹⁸ and by Le Brun, after 1650, as also at the Hôtel Lauzun, after 1657, and elsewhere.¹⁹ In contrast with these, which follow mannerist tradition, were those of Errard, leader of the academic trend, which reverted more directly to the arabesque of Raphael. His decorations at the Louvre, from 1654 onward, have largely perished, but a series of panels from the Appartement de la Reine, 1657, were incorporated in 1817 in the Chambre du Livre d'Or at the Luxembourg.²⁰ Other fine

14. The relevant passages in the text are on pp. 191–192, 199, 201. They point to a date of writing about 1622–1632, or earlier. I cannot find authority for the statement that Mollet wrote "in 1613, towards the end of his life," made by M. L. Gothein, *History of Garden Art*, 1928, I, 420.

15. H. von Geymüller, in *Baukunst der Renaissance in Frankreich*, Darmstadt, 1901, called such a scroll a *bec-de-corbin* (bill-hook, or hawk's-bill), and German writers have followed him. Although Geymüller had the advice of Destailleur in matters of usage, I do not find in French parlance, either of the eighteenth century or today, just such a use of the term, which was applied to a somewhat different foliate element—a *feuille de refend* ending in a very delicate scroll turning backwards. Cf. the key *Pièce d'un Parterre de grande Broderie*, in an engraved suite issued by Nicolas Langlois (Print Department, Metropolitan Museum).

16. V. Champier and R. Sandoz, *Le Palais-Royal*, Paris, 1900, p. 114. Fourteen panels were engraved by Dorigny in 1647.

17. In the so-called "Cabinet de Sully," actually decorated for the Maréchal duc de la Meilleraye, Grand Maître de l'Artillerie, 1634–1648. His capture of Hesdin, June 29, 1639, which appears in one of the panels, gives a *terminus post quem*, later than usually assumed. The decorations may have been executed any time before 1648.

18. In the dado of the Cabinet des Muses, a few of these early panels remain in place; some from the Cabinet de l'Amour, including circular cartouches framed by palm, are preserved at the Château de la Grange in Berri. Cf. L. Dimier, *La peinture française . . . 1627–1690*, Paris, II, 1927, pls. 10, 11.

19. Both at the Hôtel Lambert (Cabinet des Muses) and the Hôtel Lauzun (Ancienne Salle à Manger) certain arabesques date from remodelings of the eighteenth century, and may readily be distinguished from those of the seventeenth.

20. Dimier, *op. cit.*, p. 16, pls. 14, 15 and *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de l'art français*, 1927, pp. 37–39, following A. de Champeaux, *L'art décoratif dans le vieux Paris*,

arabesques of Errard, closely similar, survive in the Chambre d'Anne d'Autriche at Fontainebleau, 1664. In none of the painted compositions so far mentioned do we find any of the bandwork which was afterwards to play such a significant part in the development of French arabesques.

The decorative repertory of Charles Le Brun was so vast that his arabesques have attracted little attention, yet they are of much importance. His personal concern with their design we know from his manuscript drawings at the Louvre (e.g. Fig. 3),²¹ although their execution was doubtless left to assistants. Rather than analyze these drawings, which cannot be dated, we shall discuss datable examples carried out under his direction, which in fact show a similar character.

In the interiors at Vaux, completed in 1661, Le Brun gave arabesques a large place. They decorate the woodwork in several rooms of the Grand Appartement. In general they continue the French tradition of Vouet, with central figural elements on a large scale, acanthus foliage, and oval medallions here placed against a background of drapery, hanging sometimes from a valanced baldaquin. This traditional Italian element, adopted by Du Cerceau, and already revived at the Arsenal, was a favorite in Le Brun's arabesques. What is specially characteristic and essentially novel in painted arabesques is Le Brun's occasional use of moulded straight bars, or scrolls of flat bandwork connected by short horizontal or vertical bars—contrasting with the smooth flow of the acanthus leafage in the same panels (Fig. 4). From the junctions of opposite band scrolls, as traditionally from the junction of acanthus scrolls, spring radiating leaf-motives, variations of the palmette. This is best illustrated at Vaux in certain painted friezes, where the intertwining of bands, from the scrolls of which diverge certain leaves of acanthus, foreshadows the treatment which was ultimately to be characteristic of plaster cove-cornices under Louis XV.

It was from such arabesques of Le Brun, obviously, that were derived the forms of many engraved models by such artists as Georges Charmeton (1619–1674), Nicolas Loir (1623/24–1679), and his brother Alexis (ca. 1630–1713).²² Indeed those of the two latter correspond almost exactly with the character of Le Brun's compositions at Vaux.

Similar forms appear in Le Brun's Galerie d'Apollon of the Louvre, where the wainscot which covered the walls was richly ornamented with painted arabesques, while arabesques in stucco figure in the minor panels of the ceilings. The accounts are not specific as to the several parts of the decoration painted between 1666 and 1677—by La Baronnière, who had already worked at Vaux, by Gontier, Gervaise, and the Lemoines—or for the precise date at which the arabesques of the walls were executed.²³ But the plates of ornaments of the gallery,²⁴ engraved by Jean Berain as his first work for the Crown, including six showing the piers, were paid for beginning in January, 1671, which gives a *terminus ante quem*. He was paid for nine plates by November, 1672.²⁵ Notable in them, as at Vaux, is again the

1898, pp. 74–77, an identification resting on the engraved suite *Ornements des Appartemens de la Reine au Vieux Louvre par le sieur Errard*.

21. Nos. 5912, 5914, 8253, 8254, 8443 in Jean Guiffrey and P. Marcel: *Inventaire général des dessins du Louvre*, Paris, VII, 1912, VIII, 1913.

22. E.g., those reproduced by Berliner, *op. cit.*, 298 ff.

23. Hautecoeur states (*Le Louvre et les Tuileries de Louis XIV*, 1927, 117): "de 1670 à 1677 les Lemoines décorèrent les trumeaux d'arabesques," but I do not find anything so definite in the accounts. Berain's engravings begin in the very year the Lemoines began to be employed at the Louvre, and would thus seem to be show work by the other

men.

24. Twelve plates engraved by him, of which the coppers are preserved by the Chalcographie du Louvre, were included with others in a series assembled in 1710 with the title: *Ornements de peinture et de sculpture qui sont dans la Galerie d'Apollon au Château du Louvre et dans le grand Appartement du Roy au Palais des Tuileries. Dessinez et gravez par les Srs. Berain, Chauveau, et le Moine*.

25. Jules Guiffrey, *Comptes des Bâtimens du Roi... sous Louis XIV*, Paris, 1881 ff., I, 478, 544, 642. The payments for further plates, extending to 1677, as cited by R. A. Weigert (*Jean I Berain*, Paris, 1937, II, 40), are not specifically stated to be of ornaments of the gallery.

presence of bandwork with scrolls from which diverge leaves of acanthus. While in the painted wall panels (Fig. 5) this bandwork is subordinate, in the ceiling panels, in relief, it is definitely characteristic. In some of these (Fig. 6) it forms an inner border, turning into the pattern, uniting in opposite scrolls. The engravings also show the strips of painted ornament of the window jambs, still surviving, chiefly of interlacing bandwork, again with palmettes at the junctions of the scrolls, many of which are garnished with an acanthus leaf.

An equally advanced stage of decoration under Le Brun's direction is shown by the arabesques of the Grand Appartement at the Tuileries, as they appear in engravings by Lemoine in the same series.²⁶ He and his brother had worked at the Tuileries from 1669 (*Comptes*, I, 334), and Germain Brice states that the Chambre du Roi had grotesque panels executed by them.²⁷ Here, in certain panels, the bandwork even dominates the acanthus. The essentials of the style which we call that of Berain are thus already present at a time before, or soon after, he first worked for the Crown as an engraver.

If painted arabesques do not appear in the rooms of the Château Neuf at Versailles which survive from this period, we must remember that none of the private rooms of the time are preserved unchanged. Errard's arabesques of 1662-1665 were in the Petit Château, of which the rooms remained undisturbed only until 1678. The apartment of Mme de Montespan, where the decorations of 1671 by La Barronière and the Lemoines (*Comptes*, I, 509) may have been similar, was swept away in 1685. Of the nature of painted decorations of the other rooms we know nothing. In the Escalier du Roi the four simulated tapestries with arabesques, surrounding military scenes executed in 1677-1678,²⁸ have inner borders of band work analogous to others we have seen in the work of Le Brun.

Arabesques also figure in the designs for tapestry by Le Brun. This was the case notably in the suite of *Festons et rinceaux à fond de mosaïque*, "manière arabesque," woven at the Gobelins in 1668 and destroyed during the Revolution. As described in the *Inventaire du mobilier de la Couronne*²⁹ it had "rinceaux, oyseaux, et festons de fleurs, et dans le milieu de chaque pièce une médaille ovale dans laquelle sont représentés les *Divertissements du Roy*, le tout sur un fond aurore de petits carrez d'or et de soye." It is our first mention of this characteristic background of *mosaïque*, which appears also in the overdoor panels of the Galerie d'Apollon. In figural tapestries arabesques might appear, as initially in Raphael's tapestries, in the borders. Thus the borders of the suite of the *Histoire du Roi*, of which the first pieces were woven in 1668, have arabesques with rinceaux intertwined with horizontal bandwork, from the bars of which hang scalloped lambrequins, as in the friezes at Vaux.

Bandwork appeared likewise at Versailles in carved panel fillings, such as the surviving shutters of the Appartement des Bains, about 1672, and the doors executed for the Escalier des Ambassadeurs in 1678 by Philippe Caffieri, from Le Brun's designs. In each of these the band is merely an inner border of the panel field, uniting at the axial points in opposite scrolls adorned with a leaf of acanthus.

Under Louvois, who succeeded to the Surintendance on Colbert's death in 1683, the disfavor of Le Brun, who may have been regarded also as representing a survival of baroque influences, served to accentuate still more the academic reaction. On completion of the work actually in hand, Le Brun was no longer employed in the palaces.

26. Plates 26-29, *Lambris dans le grand Appartement des Tuileries*, of the collected series of 1710. The only plates for which he was paid were four in 1678 (*Comptes*, I, 1089), which may thus well be these.

27. *Description de Paris*, 1698 ed., I, 60.

28. One of these, transferred to canvas, is preserved at the Musée de Versailles, no. 155.

29. Ed. by J.-J. Guiffrey, Paris, 1885. No. 71 of the tapestries, cited by M. Fenaille, *État général des tapisseries des Gobelins*, II, 1903, 41.

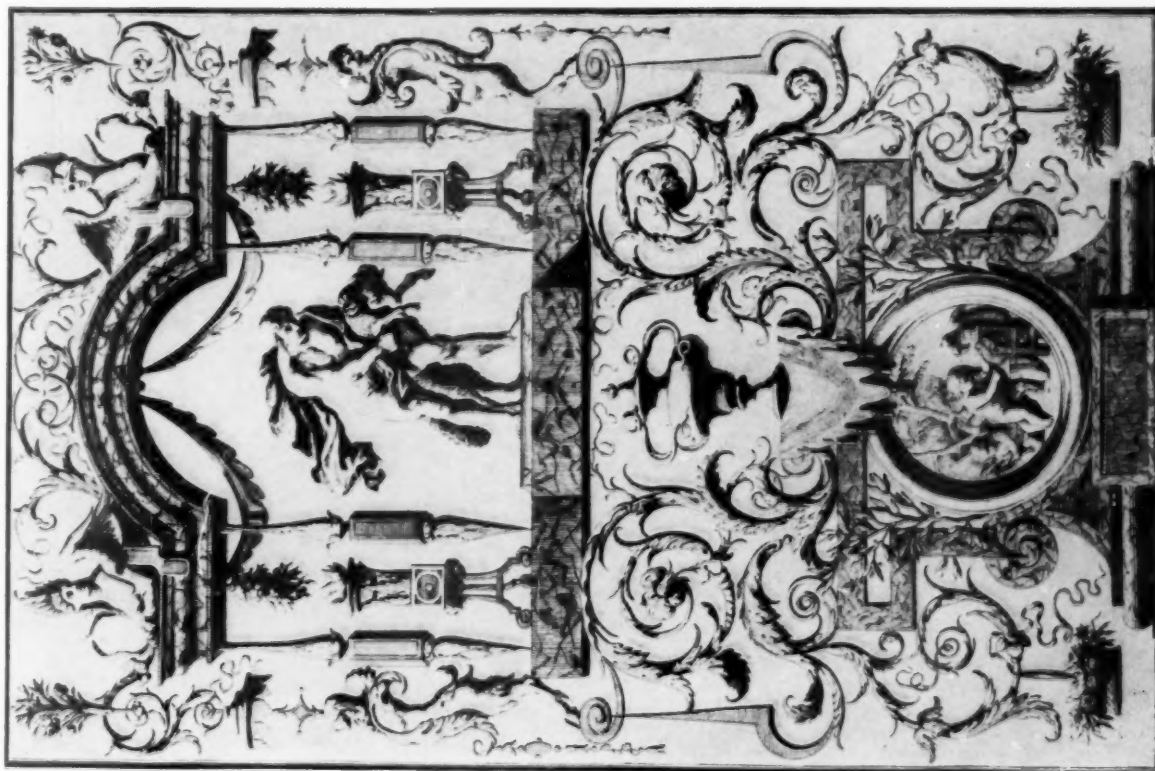


FIG. 5. Wall Panel from the Galerie d'Apollon, *ca.* 1670. Engraved by Berain

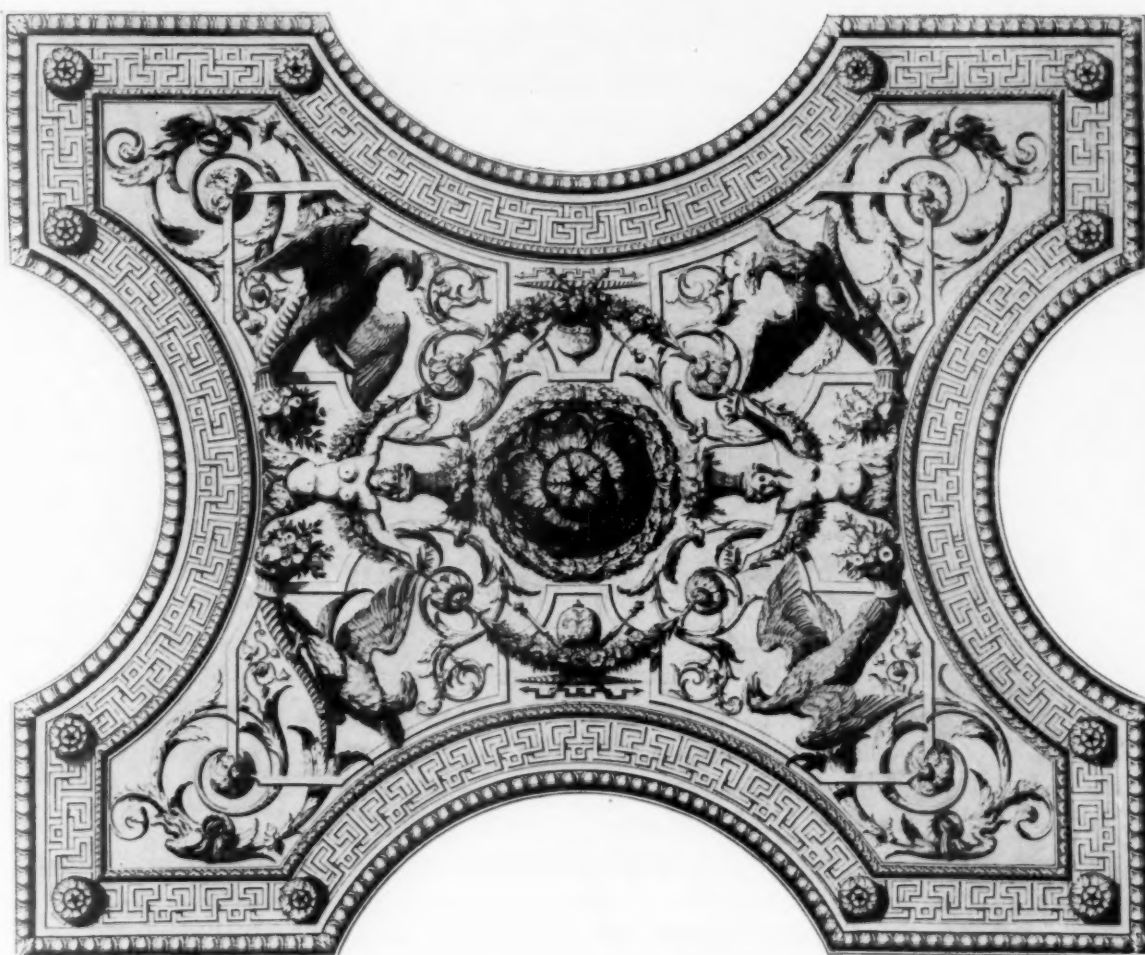


FIG. 6. Ceiling Panel for the Galerie d'Apollon, *ca.* 1670. Engraved by Berain

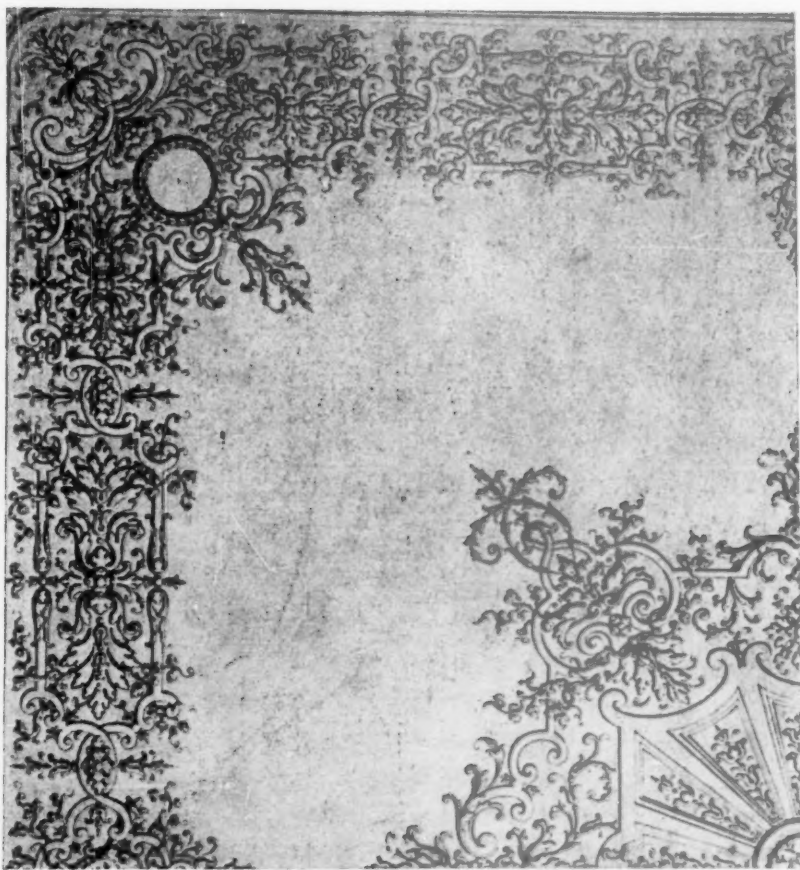


FIG. 7. Hôtel de Mailly: Ceiling Designed by Berain, 1687



FIG. 8. Hôtel de Mailly: Arabesque Designed by Berain, 1687

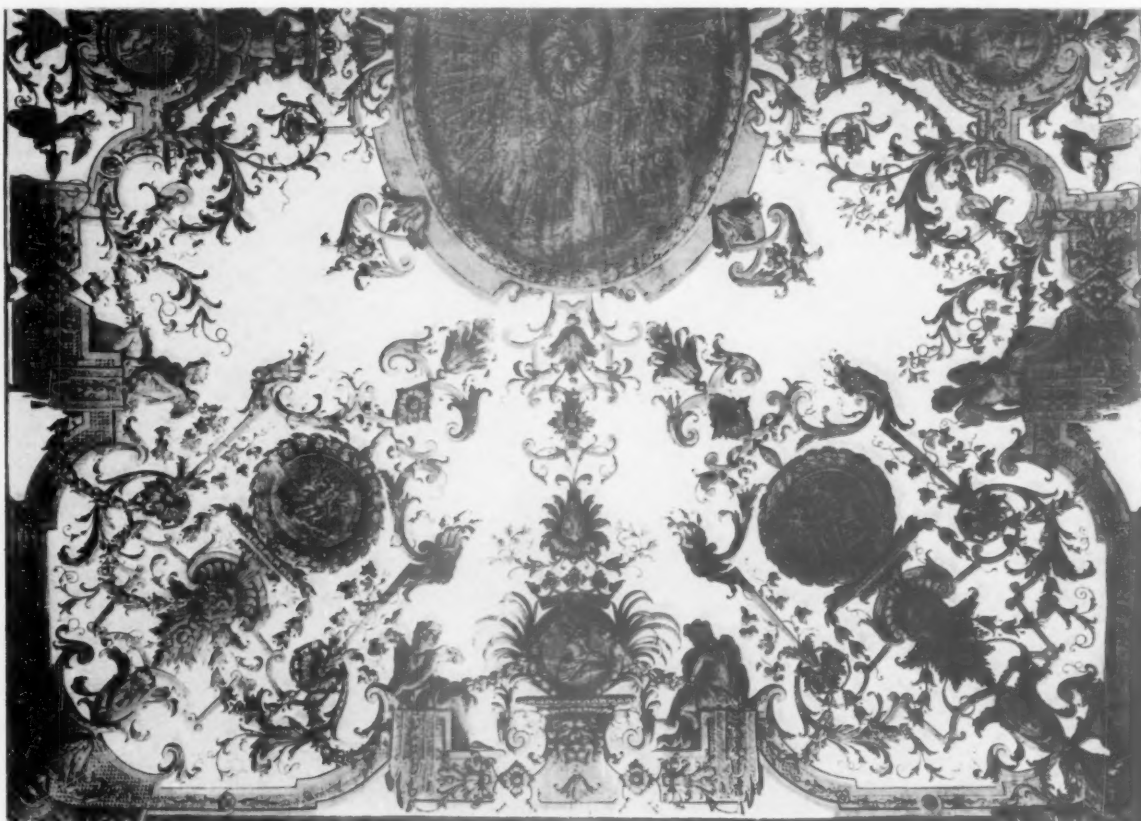


FIG. 9. Hôtel de Mailly: Ceiling Designed by Berain, 1687

From the advent of Mansart in 1678 to dominance in the royal works, the academic tendencies of Colbert, already victorious in exterior architecture, were triumphant also in interiors. The new gallery at Versailles had a monumental architectonic treatment throughout; marble in geometrical patterns was adopted for the walls of many principal rooms; the more formal and more important rooms at Marly and in the new Appartement du Roi at Versailles were adorned with an order. Only in the Cabinets, whether of the King or of the Dauphin, was a more playful handling admitted. It was precisely here that we find Beraïn called in: the Cabinet des Curiosités at Versailles (1682-1684) "ordonné" or "indiqué" by him,³⁰ with its famous Bureau du Roi from his design (*Comptes*, II, 497, 541); the Petite Galerie, begun in 1685, with patterned marquetry again "indiqué" by him.³¹ These works are all destroyed, and the evidence we have from drawings and descriptions does not establish that they included any arabesques. Although Le Brun continued to hold the direction of the Gobelins until his death in 1690, he was not called on under Louvois for designs of any new tapestry suites. His preoccupation, until October 1686, with the immense task of the ceilings of the Grande Galerie and its salons at Versailles, might be regarded as a sufficient explanation, but his disfavor with the Surintendant was a further reason why the Gobelins turned at just this time to other sources of design. It was equally significant that these sources were within the admired academic canon; the compositions of Raphael's Stanze of the Vatican, as copied by the pensioners of the Academy at Rome, the *Sujets de la Fable*, of Giulio Romano and Raphael, the *Scipio* and the *Fructus Belli* of Giulio Romano, and two suites of arabesques from models supposedly Raphaellesque.

Noël Coypel (1628-1707), pupil of Vouet, assistant of Errard, and himself from 1672 to 1674 Director of the Academy at Rome, was commissioned in 1684 to paint for the Gobelins "les desseins de Rabesques d'après Raphael," which became known as the *Triumphes des Dieux*, adapted from a sixteenth-century Brussels set.³² Coypel's cartoons follow this older set very closely in composition, proportion, and motive, but transform the figures and details into academic elegance. The background in both is of light columnar structures much in the style of Roman wall-painting. They nowhere contain any bandwork, even in the borders.³³ This revival of arabesque tapestries may well have given Beraïn a fresh stimulus to design his own arabesque patterns, which began to appear soon after this time.

By contrast with the prevailing trend to academism, stemming in French decoration from Errard and represented by Noël Coypel, Beraïn took up the creative line of the arabesques of Le Brun, in which he now further developed also the element of bandwork, in the form given it by French tradition. It is significant that this work was not in commissions for the royal palaces—where in the end even the marquetry made for the Petite Galerie was

30. Tessin, "Séjour à Paris," cited below, p. 271, and "Visite à Versailles" in *Revue de l'histoire de Versailles*, 1926, p. 284.

31. "Séjour à Paris," pp. 240, 271.

32. Three of this set, woven by Franz Geubel apparently from designs by a follower of Van Orley, are preserved in French national possession. Two of them are reproduced by E. Guichard, *Les tapisseries décoratives du Garde-Meuble*, Paris, n.d.

33. In 1687-1688 another Flemish grotesque set, "dessein de Jules Romain, représentant les Douze Mois de l'année avec crotosques et paysages," was literally copied at the Gobelins, this time without new painted cartoons, except for two additional subjects by Coypel. The models then in French royal possession have been lost, but a set from the same designs, delivered in 1574-75 by Jost van

Herselle, "tapissier de Bruxelles," to the Duke of Lorraine, is preserved in the Viennese imperial collection, one being reproduced by H. Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, Erster Teil, Bd. 1, Leipzig, 1923, frontispiece, with text on page 668. Thus was produced what has become known as the *Mois Arabesques*, of which the first set was hung at Trianon, just built. The central motives, again of classic mythological figures, are framed in light structures of columns or lattice. In the fields of some of the set (August, or December) the lateral motives are mannerist cartouche-medallions. Along with herms and other related elements, we find not only motives of rollwork and pierced strapwork, but a number of flat bands of the step-like Roman type. In the French adaptations these bands become bars moulded as in Le Brun's arabesques.

not installed—or for the Gobelins, but in decorations for private clients and in models followed in tapestry at Beauvais.³⁴

In 1687–1688, Berain provided the designs for arabesque decorations painted by André Camot at the Hôtel de Mailly in Paris. Here for the first time we find arabesque invading a new field, the ceiling. These decorations are described by Nicodème Tessin at the time of his visit to Paris in 1687, naming the designer and the executant.³⁵ One of the ceilings of the Hôtel is preserved, along with certain paneling; in addition we have several manuscript drawings of the ceilings.

The arabesques of the paneling³⁶ are closely similar to those of Le Brun (Fig. 8). Again we find the broken opposite scrolls, with shells or palmettes radiating from their junctions, swirls of acanthus diverging from their volutes, with finials of interlacing bandwork. In many instances a figure occupies the incorporeal central tabernacle of bands and scrolls, a figure standing perhaps on a scrolled pedestal garnished with a lambrequin, and sheltered by a suspended valanced baldachin. Such was the character and vocabulary of Berain's ornament in its beginnings, almost indistinguishable from what had gone immediately before.

It is in the ceilings, with their new problems, that we find Berain giving new developments to the established system. The different designs as shown in the drawings—alike in being composed symmetrically on the cardinal and diagonal axes—are not yet wholly homogeneous in style, although all of them display essential elements of Berain's patterns. The one for the "Salle ou premier Antichambre" (Fig. 7) is mainly vegetal, especially in a surrounding broad border—uniform in effect except for slight accents at the middle of the sides, and for others, made more emphatic by small wreaths, at the corners. Even in this border, however, there are traces of flat bandwork, formed of C-scrolls projecting at the corners in bill-hook form. Such bandwork is more conspicuous in the large central rosette, with radiating panels, not unlike Le Brun's rosettes of bat's-wing in the Galerie d'Apollon, but bounded outwardly by C-scrolls and bordered by lighter scrolls and tendrils. From their opposite pairs, here and throughout the series of designs, radiate palmettes of varying detail.

In the ceilings of other rooms the bandwork dominates the vegetal elements; pairs of parallel bands united by contrasts of color give a firmer basis to the major pattern. The scrolls are characteristically joined by short straight bars, and the terminal volutes are reinforced by a divergent swirl of acanthus, henceforth typical of all Berain's touches. It is these elements, of which we have traced the rise in France—not the herms, masks, and candelabra-like forms common to Italian and Flemish arabesques—which now became the essential and characteristic ones in Berain's surface ornament.

The ceiling of the Chambre du Lit, the only one still preserved (Fig. 9), is the most

34. Doubtless by Berain's designs, engraved or manuscript, were inspired "les Grotesques à petits personnages" executed in tapestry at Beauvais from 1689 onwards, from cartoons painted by Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer and others. Weigert, "Les grotesques de Beauvais," in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français*, 1933, pp. 7–21. We cannot be certain, however, that any of the surviving examples of these tapestries were of the earliest date, so that we do not take them into account in the chronological evolution of Berain's style.

35. His travel diary was first published by Oswald Sirén, *Nicodemus Tessin d. y. studieresor y Danmark, Tyskland, Holland, Frankrike och Italien*, Stockholm, 1914; the Parisian portion, in translation, by Weigert, "Notes de Nicodème Tessin le jeune relatives à son séjour à Paris en

1687," in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français*, 1932, pp. 220–279, the passage on the Hôtel de Mailly occurring in pages 238–239. Weigert also discussed these decorations in the same *Bulletin*, 1931, pp. 167–174 and in *L'architecture*, 15 janvier, 1932, pp. 31–36, where he published drawings of the ceilings secured for Tessin in 1696–1699 by Cronström, the Swedish Minister, and preserved in the National Museum at Stockholm.

36. Tessin describes it in place. It is now installed in the Château of Vernou-en-Sologne. It is clear that the arabesques were not modified in the eighteenth century when important decorative works at the Hôtel de Mailly were executed by Cauvet, whose style is of quite another character.

interesting of the four for its broad, embracing double band, so characteristically curved and broken, its elaborate diagonal standards of medallions (distantly derived from Pietro da Cortona and Le Brun) flanked by scrolls with profile masks having feathered headdresses, its interlaces of single bands, now substantially equivalent in importance with the acanthus. We note the employment, both in the broader bands and in the fields of the medallions, of *quadrillage* or *mosaïque* derived from the examples of Le Brun and henceforth commonly employed by Beraïn and others.

It is the engraved arabesque designs of Beraïn which have had the greatest attention, and which were doubtless most influential in diffusing his style. They come to us as collected by his son-in-law Thuret in 1711, the year of Beraïn's death. Their chronological evolution, important to establish, has hitherto been overlooked.

Fortunately we derive some fixed points from the lives of the engravers employed. The young Daniel Marot left France some time after the Edict of Nantes (October 23, 1685), and was in Holland certainly by the beginning of 1686.³⁷ It is perhaps significant that, while he engraved for Beraïn a frontispiece (1681) and three plates of court ceremonies which occurred in August 1682 and September 1683, he did none of Beraïn's arabesques, all of which we believe to be of later date.

We are able to date a number of them, engraved by Dolivar, as before 1693, through the fact that Dolivar's death occurred in that year. Several of these (e.g., Fig. 10) show Beraïn's characteristic style well developed in the framing of the traditional central figure and baldaquin; bandwork was now predominant, foliage subordinate. In the example illustrated, as in the ceiling of the Chambre du Lit of the Hôtel de Mailly, we find broad double bands of contrasting tone, themselves composed of interlacing fillets, their scrolls and bill-hooks garnished with acanthus.

It has not hitherto been observed that none of the arabesques engraved by Dolivar, any more than those at the Hôtel de Mailly, are of the more attenuated type we are accustomed to associate with Beraïn. These we find in his arabesques of the time around 1699, such as the panel executed in that year in the Cabinet of the Dauphin, long Beraïn's patron, at Meudon (Fig. 11),³⁸ and published with others in his *Desseins de cheminées dédiés à Monsieur Jules Hardouin Mansart . . . surintendant*. Here the forms are much more elongated; the double band disappears, although there are still contrasting areas, executed in gold, partly with *mosaïque*. This is true even where the surface is not, as here, a narrow panel.

While Beraïn continued to hold his post in the Menus-Plaisirs, he received no commissions from the Bâtiments after 1699, the year of the accession of Mansart to the Surintendance. Although Beraïn courted him at the beginning of his administration by dedicating to him the suite of *Desseins de cheminées*, the mannerist architecture of these designs was wholly outmoded before the end of the year by Pierre Lepautre's brilliant initiative at Marly. Even for arabesques it was henceforth Claude III Audran who was preferred, his ceilings at Meudon in 1699 being followed by a long list of official commissions at the Ménagerie, 1700-1701, and elsewhere.

At thirty-three, in 1692, Audran had been received *maître peintre, sculpteur, graveur et enjoliver à Paris*. The next year Cronström, the Swedish Minister, writing home to Tessin, spoke of Audran as "celluy qui après M. Beraïn a la plus grand réputation en ce genre

37. M. D. Ozinga, *Daniel Marot*, Amsterdam, 1938, p. 17.

38. Kimball, "The Development of the 'Cheminée à la

Royale,'" in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, v, 1936, 268-272.

[d'arabesques et de grotesques]," and added "il se trouve fort contre-carré icy par M. Berain, à qui il fait ombrage."³⁹ In 1698, after Audran's decorations for Anet, his relations with Berain had become worse, "Audran estant," Cronström wrote, "le seul qu'il craint."

His arabesque ceilings,⁴⁰ while following the basic schemes of Berain in their composition on the cardinal and diagonal axes, were of a lightness exceeding even Berain's, with canopies still more ethereal, floating without any support, the few remaining double bands pierced and disconnected, fillets replaced by single lines, and foliate scrolls reduced almost to tendrils.

We are led to the assumption that the lightest of all Berain's arabesques were designed after 1700, influenced to a degree by the victory of Audran, who had accentuated still further the tendency already visible in Berain's work. As pronounced examples among many, we may instance Berain's surviving engraved designs for ceilings (e.g. Fig. 12),⁴¹ which were drawn with single fillets only, though still, unlike those of Audran, with a firm organization. Without any change of fundamental scheme since the first ceilings of the Hôtel de Mailly, the pattern is lightened to the airiest of interlaces.

Thus was closed the cycle of Berain's arabesque. Starting from that of Le Brun, in which had been absorbed the bandwork of the French embroiderers and gardeners, Berain genially developed and transformed it in the direction which was to be carried forward by Audran and Gillot, to reach its ultimate expression at the hands of Watteau. Meanwhile he gave the stimulus to Pierre Lepautre's creation in another medium, which was to inaugurate the architecture of the rococo.

PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART

39. This and the following quotation are given by Weigert, *Berain*, I, p. 222.

40. Pending publication of the drawings recently given to the National Museum in Stockholm, we know only those reproduced in the *Portefeuille des arts décoratifs*, pls. 110, 222; cf. Kimball, "Le décor du château de la Ménagerie," in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vi^e pér., xvi, 1936, 252; and two sketches after ceilings at Meudon, Cabinet des Estampes, Va. 358.

41. Weigert, no. 70b; also 70a and 69, of the same char-

acter. Weigert supposes these engravings to be among a dozen for ceilings mentioned by Cronström in a letter of 1693, in which however he says "il y a déjà quelque temps que cela est fait et le goût a un peu changé depuis." Now the style of a few years before, since changed, would have been the heavier style of the Hôtel de Mailly. There are none of the lighter patterns among the plates engraved by Dolivar before 1693. We must accordingly suppose that the dozen mentioned by Cronström are now lost.

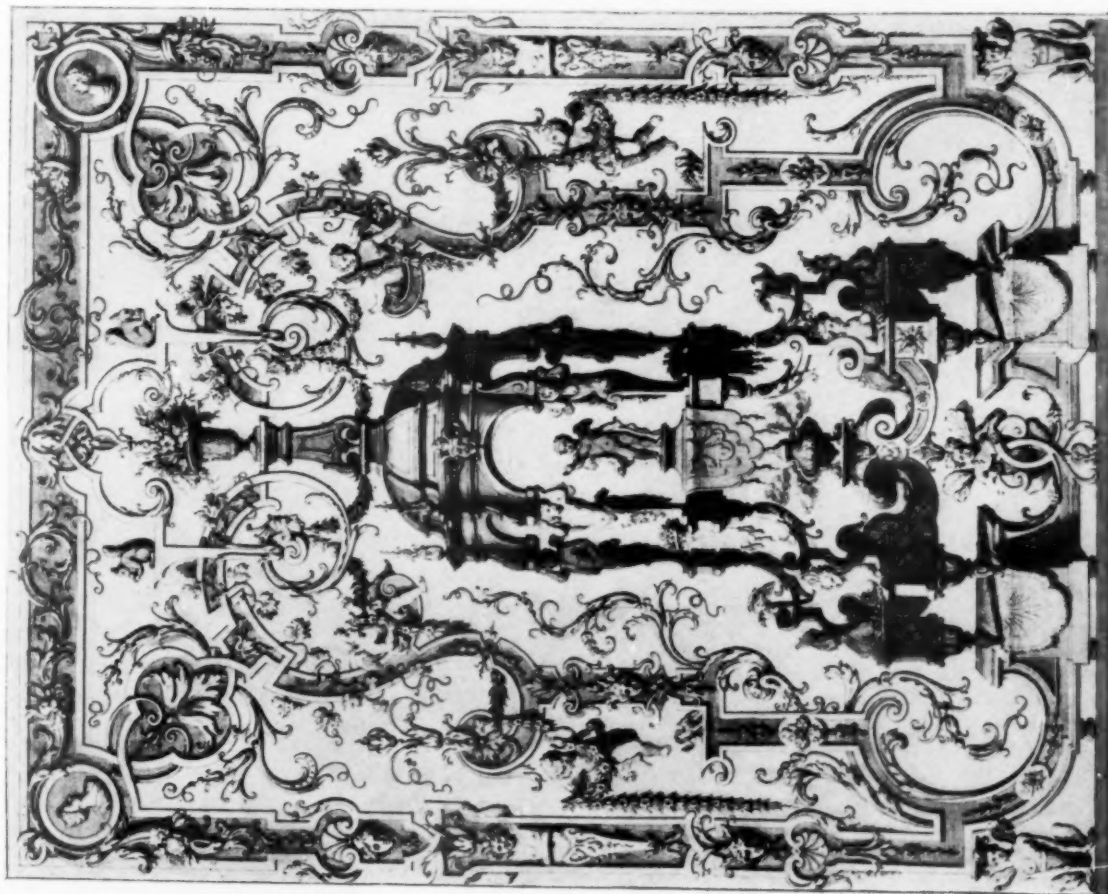


FIG. 10. Berain Arabesque Engraved before 1693



FIG. 11. Berain Arabesque, 1699

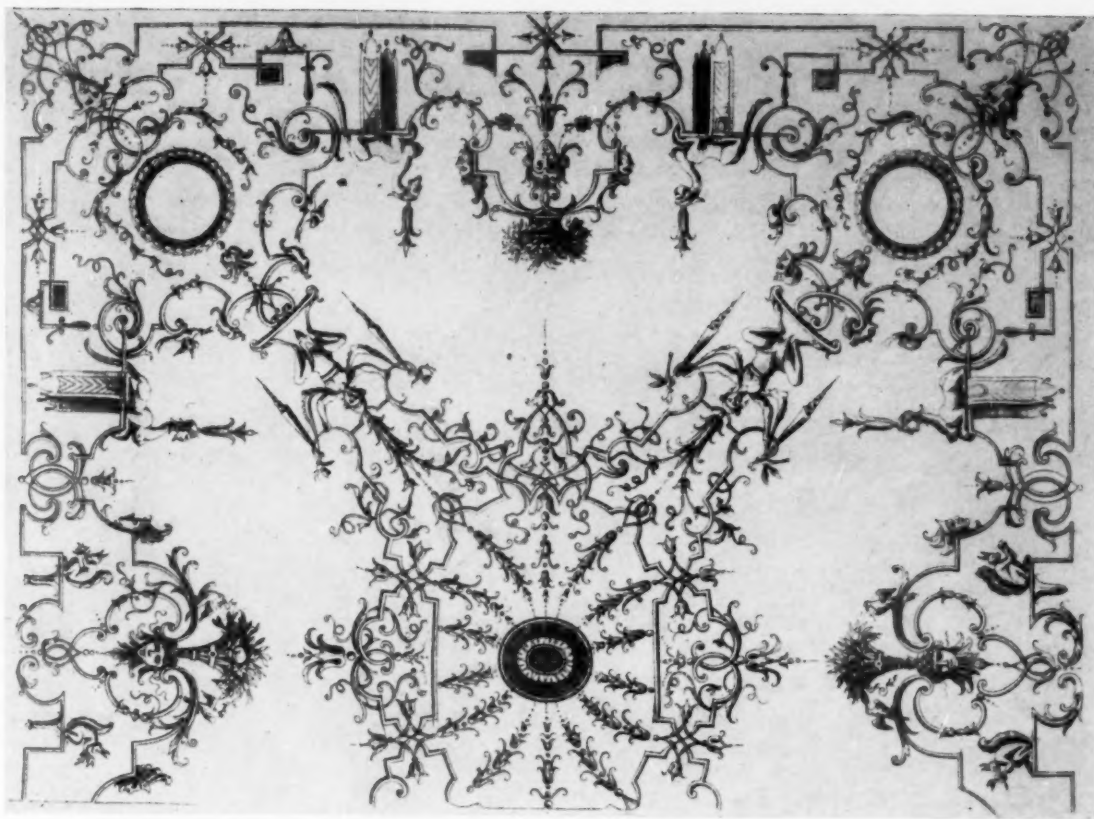


FIG. 12. Berain Arabesque Ceiling of the Late Period



FIG. 1. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology: Servant, Bronze, First Half of Fifth Century B.C.



FIG. 2. Back view of Fig. 1



FIG. 3. New York, Loo Collection: Servant, Bronze, First Half of Fifth Century B.C.



FIG. 4



FIG. 5



FIG. 6. Detail of Fig. 5

FIGS. 4-6. SPRINGFIELD, MASS., BIDWELL COLLECTION: SERVANT, BRONZE, SECOND HALF OF SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

BRONZE FIGURES OF THE LATE CHOU PERIOD

BY LUDWIG BACHHOFFER

ANYONE interested in the history of Chinese sculpture must make up his mind about a group of bronze statuettes, known now for a number of years and said to date from late Chou times. It is claimed that many of them come from graves at one site. This information, ostensibly given bona fide, is based solely on hearsay. He who is not of a gullible nature will find it advisable to look for circumstantial evidence. The search for this led me to a few general and special problems connected with the late history of Chinese bronzes; they are, I think, interesting enough to justify publication.

I

During the last decade some bronze statuettes, rather uncouth in form and more than simple in style, found their way into a few private and public collections (Figs. 1-6).¹ They obviously represent servants, kneeling on the ground and holding a short tube with outstretched arms. Sometimes a second tube is added to the slab which indicates the ground, between the knees and right under the tube above. All these servants wear the same costume: a cap which would end in a peak were it not bent down and forward by a strap running under the chin, and a tunic ending above the knees, closed on the right and fastened by a belt. The lower parts of the figures are plain; their legs appear to be covered with a skirt.

When mustering this row of figures, slight differences in form and arrangement can be observed. The statuettes with two tubes fall easily into one group. In their case the socle or slab extends well beyond the sides and the front of the figures. This is, however, of less importance than the extraordinary primitiveness of style. The human figure is presented in the most summary fashion, with the head almost as broad as the body, with the front of the oval skull pressed flat for the face, and with two stumps for the arms. The parts flow slowly and smoothly into one another, as if made of some viscous material; in fact, they count for very little in the total reckoning: it was rather the general and only dimly-sensed appearance of a kneeling man which impressed the artist, and which he represented.

Crude as these figures may be, they are true plastic works, relying upon, and aiming at, closed mass for effect. Details which might endanger this effect are reduced to a minimum, and then rendered in the least obtrusive way. The eyes are indicated by drop-like incisions, the mouth by a small groove; only the ribbons of the cap, the hems of the coat at the neck, the belt and perhaps a knife are depicted by slight elevations. The ears and the nose alone are well modeled, and it should be noted that the stubby nose is as broad as the mouth beneath.

It may be by chance that the two figures which form the second group hold only one tube in their hands, and that they kneel on very small and narrow slabs, so small, in fact, that the tips of their feet hang over and touch the ground (Figs. 1-2).² These things are negligible compared with the changes in form and style which have taken place. These are not radical

1. S. Umehara, *Rakuyō Kinson kobo shūei* (Collection of the Best Specimens from the Ancient Tombs of Lo-yang), Kyoto, 1937, Pls. 35-38.

2. For the side views of Figs. 4-5 see Umehara, *op. cit.*, Pls. 33-34. My sincerest thanks to the Royal Ontario Mu-

seum of Archaeology in Toronto, especially to the Rev. Bishop White, and to Mr. C. T. Loo for the photographs, and permission to publish them. Height of Toronto servant: 26.1 cm.; height of Loo servant: 29.3 cm.

changes: mass still rules with an iron hand. Its cohesion is a force with which the artist has entered upon an interesting, but only partially successful, struggle. Bodies and legs still appear as a closed block. The law of frontality which calls for strict symmetry, without even the slightest deviation from the central axis, is still obeyed. These two statuettes, whose heads furthermore are as broad as their trunks, seem to belong with the other four.

Yet they display some traits which demonstrate clearly that the artists had worked hard meanwhile: the head, almost round now, rests on a thin neck and is very effectively set off from the shoulders, which are now square and strong. The contour no longer flows lazily from the head over a thick neck into narrow and sloping shoulders; the arms are no longer two stumps emerging somewhere from between shoulder and waist, but appear in their proper place and are bent at the elbows. The eyes are spaced more widely, and lie in well-modeled sockets. In one case, they are still rendered with rather graphic means; in the second figure, however, a distinction is made between the lid and the eyeball, which is treated plastically. The same holds good for the cheeks and the mouth, broad now under a small nose; the mouth is sharply outlined, divided into an upper and lower lip, and even the groove running from nose to mouth is carefully fashioned. At the rear, the cap is now conceived as an object in its own right. The crossed feet are a rather unexpected attempt to break away from the rigid regularity of the frontal view. The backs of these figures are much straighter, and consequently flatter. There is little doubt that this was done deliberately, for it is remarkable how cleverly these artists discriminated between the several parts and the treatment they were to receive. This judicious differentiation in apperception and representation results in increased consideration given to proportion and to tectonics by working out the contrast between the horizontal and vertical direction. All this makes for greater and more impressive clarity of form.

The question whether the differences between the two groups must be interpreted in terms of quality or evolution is already properly answered by the analysis of their styles. In addition, one specimen of each group has a characteristic feature, and these features point to different epochs. This leads, of course, to the important problem of date.

II

The figures of kneeling servants, and a few other statuettes, are said to have come from the tombs near the village of Chin Ts'un, situated some two miles north of the river Lo and some seven miles to the northeast of Lo Yang, in Western Honan. The graves are also called "the tombs of Old Lo Yang," after the title of a book in which their contents were first published.³ The graves seem to have been dug and filled in the times when the locality belonged to the kingdom of Han 韓 whose capital, Huai Ch'ing, was in the close vicinity: the name of Han occurs twice in inscriptions on objects hailing from these tombs. Thus the connection of the graves with this principality seems rather plausible; this is important because Han was conquered and absorbed by Ch'in in 230 B.C.⁴

The tombs were not excavated scientifically; to speak plainly, they were plundered. The finds thus fall into the same category as those from Hsin Chêng in Honan, and Li Yü in Shansi.⁵ The implications are these: though robbers are by nature rather reticent about the

3. C. W. White, *The Tombs of Old Lo-yang*, Shanghai, 1934. It contains the most valuable information about the tombs and their contents, gathered under very difficult circumstances. The book by Umehara, cited in note 1, was intended to be a complement to White's work. For a criticism of it, see B. Karlgren, "Notes on a Kin-ts'un Album,"

in *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (BMFEA)*, x, Stockholm, 1938, 65 ff.

4. Karlgren, *op. cit.*, p. 78. The kingdom of Han must not be confused with the two Han dynasties (205 B.C.-9 A.D. and 25-220 A.D.).

5. For Hsin Chêng, see Carl W. Bishop, "The Find at

source of their income, they are only too prone to speak when they see greater profit. This happens when a keen interest is shown in objects coming from a definite locality. The danger is then that the original stock may be inflated by objects from other sites. The unreliability of information and the possibility of such operations obscure the issue in a very annoying way.

There is no other method of arriving at some degree of probability than comparison of style. The simplest, and ideal, case would be that in which everything shows the same style. But the objects allegedly hailing from Hsin Chêng, Li Yü, and Chin Ts'un do not form such closed groups. They display a great variety of styles, though one is always predominant. A close scrutiny of form and décor reveals, however, that these various styles constitute a sequence; this means that the claim that such objects were found together must be considered well substantiated. Objects which do not fit into one of these contiguous groups must be eliminated; the inference is that they were smuggled in.

Since it was customary to bury family heirlooms with the dead, it is, of course, imaginable that a piece of great age might have been mixed with objects of more recent date.⁶ There is then no way to ascertain its affiliation with the main group, except by a chance inscription.⁷ If inscribed objects with an exact date are discovered in a tomb, they do not date the material in toto, but only the objects of their style. This would hold good also if the date of the interment were known.

Thus, the immediate and urgent problem which faces the historian of early Chinese art is to establish the correct sequence of the various styles displayed in the bronzes, not in a general way, but step by step. It will be necessary to break away from the habit of lumping together styles which have little or nothing in common. Hand in hand with this must go an attempt to determine the duration of these stylistic groups. This can be done by finding the proper place for them among the known dated, or datable, objects.

The Bidwell Figure.—The primary question about the figures dealt with here is not whether they came from Chin Ts'un, but the approximate date of their execution. Fortunately, there is one specimen amongst the first group which has its socle decorated with a pattern of interlaced dragons upon a background of volutes and triangles (Fig. 6).⁸ This very ornament occurs again on a vase of the type Hu which was excavated a few years ago in Rome, of all places. The Hu, now in the Hellström collection, Mölndal, Sweden, was described in detail by Birgit Vessberg (Figs. 9–10).⁹ The problem is to discover the time when this particular pattern was used.

Miss Vessberg called the style of the vase "Huai"; she took the term in the very broad, and necessarily vague, sense in which it is generally employed, designating the style which is found on the bulk of bronzes from Li Yü, and that which is characterized by a maze of tiny hooks and spirals. For the sake of historical as well as intellectual exactitude, it is imperative to make a clear distinction between the two. Although they share many elements, they

Hsin Chêng Hsien," *Artibus Asiae*, 1928/9, 100 ff. Kuan Po-i, *Hsin Chêng ku-chi t'u-lu*, Shanghai, 1929. For Li Yü, see G. Salles, "Les bronzes de Li-yu," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, VIII, 1934, 146 ff.

6. Such objects were meant to be kept in the ancestral temples; after the lapse of some time they were evidently placed in tombs. Cf. Karlgren on this subject, *op. cit.*, p. 80, and his "New Studies," *BMFEA*, IX, 1937, 8.

7. Though not of very great age when compared with the bulk of the material from Chin Ts'un, the Piao bells

fall in this category.

8. The figure is in the collection of Mr. Raymond H. Bidwell, Springfield, Mass. I want to thank Mr. Bidwell here again; he not only provided me with photos of the figure, but took great pains to bring out the décor of the socle. The base is 2.1 cm. high; total height of figure, 24.7 cm.

9. "Un bronze du style Houai decouvert à Rome," *BMFEA*, IX, 1937, 127 ff.

make a totally different use of them, and this is the decisive factor. For this reason, I shall apply the terms "style of Li Yü" and "Huai style" to these two phenomena.

Li Yü Style and Huai Style.—The Li Yü style divided the bodies of vessels into horizontal friezes and filled them with "dragons," interlaced or in single file. In each case, the device was produced with the help of stamps and is repeated at short intervals. The dragon was the basic element of the décor. It always has a very characteristic shape: flat like a ribbon with thin, smooth contours, and the interior filled with triangles, meanders, volutes, double spirals, and oblique hatches, all of them so shallow as to look incised. Little granules were also used. These ribboned dragons were invariably placed on an empty background, in very low relief (Figs. 7-8).

The most frequent patterns, triangles and volutes, occurred already, though slightly different in shape, upon one of the highly baroque vases in Hsin Chêng, and with the same function, i.e. as filling of interlaced ribboned dragons.¹⁰ But the Hsin Chêng Hu aimed at a radically different effect: atectonic to the verge of the flamboyant in form, its décor does not stress structure, but obscures it deliberately; it suggests an incessant upward movement which is taken up, and supported, by the four climbing felines which serve as handles, and finds its climax in the eccentric crown and the crane with outspread wings on the lid.

Compared with this flamboyance of form and décor, a Hu of the Li Yü style appears restrained and sober. The exuberant paraphernalia have vanished: the vase stands again on its own foot, and if there are beasts acting as handles, and a petaled crown, these elements no longer have the power to suggest a vivid upward movement. What is more important, they can be taken away, and not to the detriment of the whole; in fact, this was done by the artists themselves (Fig. 11). The effect aimed at was that of a closed plastic mass; the décor, neatly confined to horizontal friezes, and rendered as inconspicuous as possible, was not allowed to interfere with it. The Tings, or tripods, of Li Yü style which have come into many collections, prove this point as nicely as one could wish.

However, the décor did not bear this suppression long. It grew restless: the curved parts of the dragons, the jaws, noses, ears, wings, and tails became more prominent, in the truest sense of the word, because they were pushed into higher and higher relief. A subtle, yet important transformation ensued: where formerly the straight line predominated despite these curvilinear elements, the latter now take the lead; and where formerly a single layer of relief sufficed for all, two, three and more layers are needed now. It becomes increasingly difficult to discern any trace of zoöomorphic nature in this wriggling mass of hooks and spirals.

Of course, no strict line can be drawn between these two ideals of ornamentation: forms glide into one another, and in many instances it is not easy to decide whether it is a case of "still," "not yet," or "already." But in the end, the last pretence of a theriomorphous affinity is cast off. The new decorative scheme, which has reduced the old flat dragons to an inextricable maze of small plastic particles without any objective meaning, and which aims ostensibly at a rough, choppy effect, is so extraordinarily refined and sophisticated that it would be absurd to speak of degeneration. In form, subject-matter, and aim it is something new in the history of Chinese bronzes, and must, therefore, have a name of its own. I think it ought to be called "Huai"; the term is already known, but it should be used only for this peculiar phenomenon.

It is true that this period, too, sometimes felt an urge towards objective representation; but then the figures, real and fantastic animals, were a novelty in form and style, and had

10. O. Sirén, *Histoire des arts anciens de la Chine*, I, Paris, 1929, Pl. 56A.

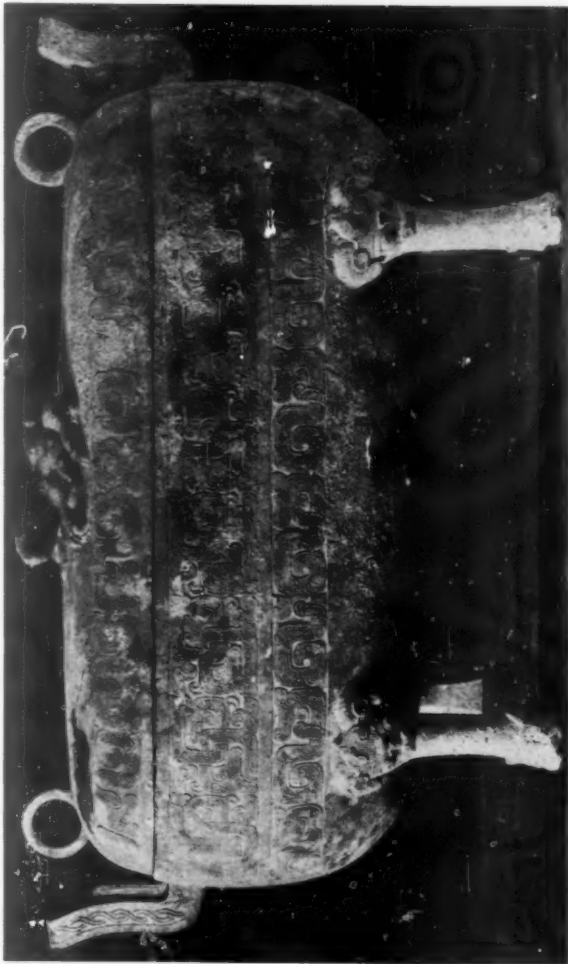


FIG. 7. Paris, Wannick Collection: Four-Legged Ting from Li Yü, Bronze, Second Half of Seventh Century B.C.



FIG. 8. Lid of Wannick Ting

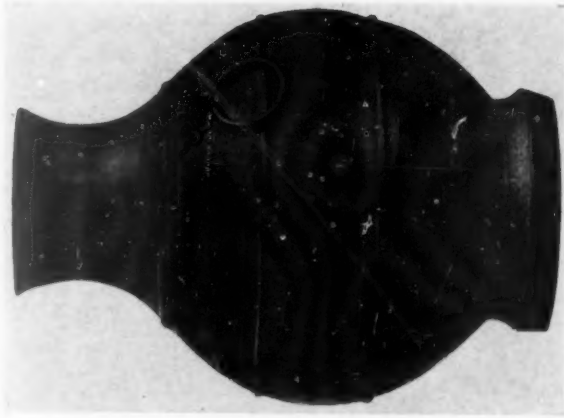


FIG. 9. Möndal, Hellström Collection: Hu, Bronze, Second Half of Sixth Century B.C.



FIG. 10. Detail of Fig. 9



FIG. 11. Chicago, Art Institute: Hu, Bronze, Second Half of Seventh Century B.C.



FIG. 12. Chicago, Art Institute: Pilgrim's Bottle, Bronze, First Half of Fifth Century B.C.



FIG. 13. Hu (Whereabouts Unknown), Bronze, Middle of Sixth Century B.C.



FIG. 14. Kyōto, Moriya Collection: Hu, Bronze, First Half of Sixth Century B.C.

nothing whatsoever in common with the dragons of the preceding phase. Moreover, they were placed upon a background of small amorphous elements, such as have just been described. A number of mirrors might be adduced to prove this point.

The Huai style is the only one about whose duration some definite dates are known. It was already well developed in 550 B.C. This year corresponds to the date given in the inscription upon a set of bells, allegedly discovered in the tombs of Chin Ts'un, and known as the Piao bells.¹¹ Karlgren, who has done more than any western scholar for the elucidation of the history of Chinese bronzes, had from the beginning advocated the year 550 B.C. I was formerly of the opinion that the date of the Piao bells was 380 B.C., a possible historical alternative.¹² What brought me over to Karlgren's side were not the historical discussions published in the meantime, but the fact that the Oeder basin, now in the Berlin Museum, was made, according to its inscription, under Fu Chai, King of Wu, who ruled from 495-473 B.C.¹³ The upper part of this vessel is covered with a very late redaction of the Huai pattern; this excludes a later date for the Piao bells, carrying, as they do, a decidedly earlier form of it.¹⁴

With the exception of the monster's head at the bottom, which must not be judged by the same standards, the décor of the Piao bells has already lost any objective significance and has become a restless, nervous filling. It is by no means an early phase of the metamorphosis described above. The beginnings of the Huai style certainly go back into the first half of the sixth century B.C. This time represents also the *terminus ante* for the Li Yü style and its products. In other words, such bronzes must be placed in the seventh century B.C.; they come very likely from the latter half of it.¹⁵

Amongst the bronzes said to have been part of the Li Yü hoard are a few pieces on which the relation between ground and ornament is reversed: the ground, and not the pattern, is covered with geometric elements; the ornament proper is left untouched, and flush with the incised background. The geometric elements are identical with those used on the interior of the dragons. A ladle, and at least three animals, apparently belonging to the species of rodents, were treated in this way.¹⁶ There can be no doubt that the principle of "negative ornament" was known to, and used by, the artist who cast the vessels from Li Yü: the lids of the tripod and the four-legged Ting are adorned in this manner (Fig. 8). With this décor appearing side by side with positive dragons on one and the same vessel, any question about their chronological relationship seems futile: they are plainly contemporaneous.

It would appear natural and correct to date the Hellström Hu and, along with it, the

11. So called after the name of a clan occurring in the inscriptions. Karlgren has dealt comprehensively with the Piao bells and their date: "On the Date of the Piao Bells," *BMFEA*, vi, 1934, 137 ff.; "New Studies in Chinese Bronzes," *ibid.*, ix, 1937, 104 ff., note; "Notes," p. 74.

12. *The Burlington Magazine*, lxxvii, 1935, 258.

13. Karlgren, "Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes," *BMFEA*, viii, 1936, c 183, Pl. 52, p. 72; Sirén, *op. cit.*, i, Pl. 103A.

14. Cf. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, Pl. 1-2, Appendix Pl. 3. The above applies, of course, also to the date 404 B.C., proposed by Wen T'ing-ching, and supported by Jung Kêng. Another object of Huai style with a cast inscription, said to have come from the Chin Ts'un graves, is the so-called Ssü Tzū vase (*ibid.*, Pl. 4). It is later than the Piao bells, and can be placed securely between 550-500 B.C. Karlgren's dating ("Notes," p. 76), based on paleographic considerations, is too early.

15. It is interesting to recapitulate the chronological vicissitudes to which the typical Li Yü bronzes were ex-

posed during the last decade. A. J. Koop thought them to belong to the Ch'in dynasty, in his *Early Chinese Bronzes*, London, 1924, p. 3. O. Sirén (*op. cit.*, pp. 69, 79) ascribed them to the same dynasty, or the third century B.C. Otto Kummel put a mirror with a characteristic Li Yü décor into the second to first century B.C., and a bell which displays a much later phase of it, into the fourth to third century B.C. (*Jörg Trübner zum Gedächtnis*, Berlin, 1930, T. 46, 26 ff.). G. Salles, *op. cit.*, p. 149: "Pour ce qui est de bronzes de Li-yu je les classerai pourtant plutôt parmi les séries les plus récentes du group dit Ts'in, car elles me paraissent avoir plus que d'autres de multiples affinités avec les pièces de la dynastie Han." The *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Chinese Art*, London, 1935-36, placed such objects (e.g., no. 132-133) in the Period of the Warring States (ca. 481-221 B.C.). Umehara favors the same date (*Étude des bronzes des royaumes combattantes*, Kyoto, 1936, p. 2). Karlgren ranges a typical Li Yü piece as Huai ("New Studies," p. 101).

16. Umehara, *op. cit.*, Pl. 202, 21, 262.

Bidwell servant at the end of the seventh century B.C. But there are a few things which are not compatible with so early a date. First, the shape of the Hellström vase must be considered: its stout and well-balanced body does not quite agree with the limp and rather sagging contours of a typical Li Yü vase. Another feature which is lacking there is the hanging triangles under the rim, originally inlaid in a metal sufficiently distinct in color to stand out vividly.

There exist a few such vases which can be assembled into a group; one is in the Moriya collection, Kyōto, which has the broad beam and the well-shaped mouth and foot-ring, but not the serrated border; another one has an identical décor in its friezes, plus the triangles under the rim (Figs. 13-14).¹⁷ In both cases, the décor consists of interlaced dragons which have fine feathered wings, and are interspersed with monsters' heads. The several elements are much richer and more variegated in form than those on the vessels from Li Yü, though they still keep to one layer of relief, and the two fundamental directions still prevail. Yet the trend towards the Huai ideal is unmistakable, and when the décor is compared with that on the bottoms of the Piao bells, it turns out very close to it. It is quite safe, therefore, to date these two Hu a short time before 550 B.C.

Each of the other vases in this group has a different décor, but every one of them is in some way connected with the Li Yü décor, or derived from it.¹⁸ The three striking features, the plastic band around the mouth, the inlaid triangles beneath, and the elegantly shaped foot with the concave contraction between it and the body, occur again on a particular variety of the Hu, generally called a "pilgrim's bottle." This shape appears to have stood in high favor with the artists during the latter half of the Huai period, i.e. in the first half of the fifth century B.C. (Fig. 12). It is not feasible to place the Hellström Hu before the Moriya vase, or after one of the pilgrim's bottles with a serrated border. This would imply that it was more or less contemporary with the beginnings of the Huai style. In fact, I think it must be regarded as an attempt to perpetuate the Li Yü style, by using old means in a new way.

It is a fallacy to think of any style as dying suddenly at a given time, and being replaced by another one. Two successive styles overlap, and there are always and everywhere artists who by inclination, education, or a certain lack of spirit, feel bound to the old decorative scheme. They uphold what they call a tradition. Their efforts run parallel to those of their fellow artists who have embarked upon new aims. It would be rash to assume that their work was doomed to fail. It was certainly not in this case, to judge from the evidence available: there exists, it seems, not a single Ting covered with the hooks and spiral pattern of Huai brand, but many tripods adorned with derivatives and paraphrases of the Li Yü décor. As far as I can see, no one has as yet called attention to this strange situation. With so many pre- and post-Huai Tings known, it is inevitable that those tripods be placed in the time when the Huai style flourished. One has, therefore, to reckon with the fact that the Huai style did not reign unchallenged; side by side with it lived a style which kept the old Li Yü elements alive. The Hellström vase, and the Hu in New York, mentioned in note 18, belong to this class.

As has been said above, this group of vases cannot be older than the Moriya Hu, which is somewhat earlier than 550 B.C., nor more recent than the pilgrim's bottles, which must be

17. Umehara, *Étude*, Pl. 72, 752.

18. Besides the Hellström Hu, one in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (*ibid.*, Pl. 772); the subject-matter, leaping stags, birds, and felines with intertwined serpents, come ultimately from the West, probably the Caucasus; the principle of "negative ornament" and the elements for

filling the background are derived from Li Yü. A fragment of a vessel with the same décor was allegedly found in one of the tombs of Chin Ts'un (White, *op. cit.*, Pl. 106, no. 245). A pair of vases, of the same provenance, have their friezes filled with tiny hooks and studs: this is just another late redaction of the typical Huai décor (*ibid.*, Pl. 107).

regarded as slightly later than the Oeder basin, on the evidence of their décor. It is in this period, roughly spanning a century, that the Bidwell servant and his companions must be dated.

The Servant in Toronto.—The two figures in Toronto and in the Loo collection are of more recent date than the statuettes of the first group; so much can be gleaned from the analysis of form. They show a few interesting, though not fundamental changes; they are just one step forward toward a better understanding of the problems involved, and this step was certainly taken within a brief period of time. The servant in Toronto wears in the center of his belt an object which can be identified without difficulty as a hook. Besides settling the question of how and where such hooks were worn in ancient China, the representation provides a clue for an approximate dating, for this particular type of belt-hook was apparently made and worn for a comparatively short time. These spatula-shaped belt-hooks constitute a rather small group, the majority of which are decorated with geometric patterns inlaid in gold, silver, and semi-precious stones. In other words, their décor tallies with that of the most characteristic bronzes from the Chin Ts'un graves.

The Chin Ts'un Style.—As was the case with Hsin Chêng and Li Yü, the finds allegedly made at Chin Ts'un cover a wide range of styles. The objects in typical Huai style, such as the Piao bells, and a pair of Hu, have been mentioned already. The largest portion of the bronzes display another style, distinct from anything ever made before.

Its ornaments consist of purely geometric devices or highly geometrized animals, radically different from the devices used in previous times. Its technique is new: the patterns are inlaid in gold, silver, and colored stones.¹⁹ Its aim is new: the creation of an even surface, intricate in pattern, gorgeous in color, and dazzling in effect. The objects look as if covered with luxurious brocades in green, blue, gold, and silver. At the bottom of this lies a profound and complete change in the idea of what decoration ought to be: it is now conceived as a resplendent coat spread over the object; formerly it was of a piece with it.

Intellectual orderliness requires the designation of this style by a name of its own. The most appropriate one seems to be that of the site whence the bulk of the objects thus decorated came. This is scarcely the proper place to describe comprehensively the various alterations the new style underwent. What I want to give here is only a rapid sketch of its beginnings and a hint as to its development which may prove helpful to further inquiries.

Mustering the many works which have survived, one must be struck by the widely divergent shapes the new decorative system had assumed. But once the right viewpoint is found, they reveal themselves as following a sensible and logical evolution. The first indication that something new was impending was made on the excellent basin with hunting scenes in the Freer Gallery, Washington.²⁰ On it the separating bands carry an inlaid triangle and volute pattern, doubled by inversion. The basin, with its row of naturalistic swans in the interior, and with the plastic braid around its foot-ring, comes so close to the Li Yü bronzes that it must be ascribed to the same period. Interesting as its occurrence toward 600 B.C. may be, this ornament does not count for very much. Of far greater importance was the inlaid décor of the next stage, represented by the small dividing bands of the Moriya Hu. It is static, and rigidly symmetrical; its patterns consist of straight lines, usually bent at right angles, but with rounded corners and ending in short hooks. The most impressive features of

19. It is true that incrustations of malachite and turquoise were known to the Shang craftsmen, but with the end of that dynasty, about 1000 B.C., the technique had

disappeared completely. What happened here was not a revival of an old craft, but its re-introduction from outside.

20. Umehara, *op. cit.*, Pl. 55.

this décor are, as to subject-matter, the complete absence of any zoömorphous affinity; and as to form, the stress upon horizontality. That this latter phenomenon has nothing to do with the shape of the bands, is amply attested by later works. In form and technique this ornament is plainly the precursor of the typical Chin Ts'un décor. Such parts of lesser importance were treated in the same manner when the Huai style reigned supreme, as demonstrated by the Piao bells.²¹

It is one thing to use certain elements to decorate some rather negligible parts of an object, and another to make them the main theme of a decorative scheme. This was done shortly afterwards, when these rather heavy and clumsy forms became thin, slim, and elegant. At this stage, it seems, precious metals began to appear, supplanting the old alloys which differed only in color from the bronze ground. At the same time, intarsia in semi-precious stones were used, though only sparsely. A number of vessels belong to this stage: a Hu, formerly in the Eumorfopoulos collection, another in the Ōta collection, Kyōto, and a third in the possession of the Chinese government.²² The main elements of the décor on the Ōta vase are obviously the refined and cultured descendants of the robust elements on the Moriya vessel.

This very early stage of the new style can be dated with the help of the well-known square basin in Toronto, and a pilgrim's bottle in the Pilster collection, Berlin.²³ The inlaid devices of these vessels are so closely related to those of the three Hu that contemporaneity must be assumed. With the exception of the inlaid bordure under the rim, the Toronto basin is covered with a late redaction of the Huai pattern, coming near to that of the Oeder basin. The pilgrim's bottle is probably somewhat later. These vessels must be dated in the first half of the fifth century, and this is also roughly the date of the three Hu just mentioned.

The further development is easy to follow: diagonal lines, sparingly used at the beginning, gain more and more in importance. Rectangular combinations were finally tilted, and rest on a corner. The elaboration of this system led then to such very intricate configurations as are seen on the well-known Hu in Philadelphia and other vessels of similar magnificence, most of them in American collections.²⁴ The subsequent shift from essentially rectilinear to exclusively curvilinear elements, from a static, intrinsically tectonic to a dynamic, atectonic composition, can be traced almost step by step on hundreds of objects, small and large; but it has no immediate bearing on the subject of this article. I should, however, like to add that this new style was not a local affair, but to all appearances a *Reichsstil*, as the Huai style was: besides Chin Ts'un in Honan, Shou Chou in Anhui, and Ch'ang Sha in Hunan have yielded a great many works displaying it.²⁵

The majority of the spatula-shaped belt-hooks have their heads inlaid with a décor which is rectilinear in character, symmetric in composition, and prefers the oblique to the horizontal and vertical directions.²⁶ The latest specimens show the beginnings of the curvilinear

21. Shown by Andersson in his admirable paper on "The Goldsmith in Ancient China," *BMFEA*, VII, 1935, 30, fig. 5, Pl. 2-3.

22. Hu Eumorfopoulos: Koop, *op. cit.*, Pl. 101. Hu Ōta: *Rakuyō*, App. Pl. 4, a color plate in White, *op. cit.*, "special plate" (no. 262). Hu Chinese government: *Cat. London Exhib.*, no. 98.

23. Andersson, *op. cit.*, Pl. 2-3. *Cat. London Exhib.*, no. 142.

24. The year 279 B.C., given to the date in the incised inscription of the Philadelphia vase by Kuo Mo-jo, provides but a *terminus ante*; it looks as if the vessel were part

of a war booty. Karlgren is right in saying that the vase may very well be earlier than 279 B.C. (Andersson, *op. cit.*, p. 27).

25. Shou Chou: *ibid.*, pp. 12 ff. Ch'ang Sha: *An Exhibition of Chinese Antiquities from Ch'ang-sha. Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University*, 1939, fig. 1. The objects from this site are mostly of wood, with the décor painted. To the same category belongs the large group of cranes and serpents, also from Ch'ang Sha, now in the Cleveland Museum of Fine Arts.

26. Sirén, *op. cit.*, Pl. 88M-N; *Cat. Berlin Exhibition*, 1929, no. 102-103.

phase, with the thin and rich spirals typical of it.²⁷ At that time, this belt-hook seems to have gone out of fashion.

A few specimens which appear to be older than the rest were published by Sirén.²⁸ The décor of one, straight thin lines ending in small hooks, resembles in form and character the frieze of the Toronto basin; the other piece has a few plain double spirals, and at the base of the neck a triangle and volute pattern which comes very close to the same device on a Ko handle, in the Hellström collection.²⁹ It is of interest that the genuine double spiral occurs as an independent decorative element on a Ho in the Art Institute of Chicago. This vessel is chiefly covered with a dragon pattern, treated, however, in such a way that the effect is almost the same as the hooks and spirals of the Oeder basin; this is one of the cases where old elements had been kept alive unduly long, and finally had to give in.³⁰ At any rate, the objects which show the closest affinity to the two belt-hooks can be dated in the period when the Huai style was drawing to its end, i.e. between ca. 500 and 450 B.C.

It looks as if the spatula-shaped belt-hook came into use about 500 B.C. and was given up long before the mature works of the Chin Ts'un style, with their flowing and moving décor, were created. Within these limits the Toronto figure must have been made. Considering that the Bidwell servant and his companions are undoubtedly the ancestors of the figures in Toronto and the Loo collection, that the differences in style and form do not warrant a great interval between the two groups, that the ornament on the socle of the Bidwell servant is derived from the Li Yü décor and very likely contemporaneous with the Huai style, and that the Toronto statuette wears a belt-hook, which probably came into fashion about 500 B.C., it seems to be quite safe to place the two groups at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century, respectively. They were separated by hardly more than one or two generations.

The Figure in Kansas City.—There exist, of course, other bronze statuettes of the types dealt with, and it is not difficult to attribute them to the first or second group or to an intermediary stage, represented by such works as the servants in the collection of Baron von der Heydt, Ascona, and of Professor O. Sirén, Stockholm.³¹ Of a different kind, however, is the figure of a boy in the museum at Kansas City, though he is kneeling and holding a tube as do the others (Figs. 15–16). The pose is freer, variegated, bold in invention, and remarkably full of action. The most striking trait, however, is the loosening of the plastic mass, and the attempt to break away from strict symmetry: the legs are well separated, only the right knee touches the ground whilst the left is propped up. The tube is held in the right hand, which is extended sideways and upwards. A second tube is attached to the slab under the one in the right hand. This gives one side a definite preponderance, and emphasizes the asymmetric appearance of the whole; it also makes it clear that the left hand, now lost, did not grasp another tube.³² The shoulders are very broad for the small boyish head; the body leans forward. No less remarkable is the costume, a coat of about knee-length with half-sleeves

27. Sirén, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 17B, E.

28. *Ibid.*, I, Pl. 88K–L.

29. Andersson, *op. cit.*, Pl. 82.

30. *Handbook of the Department of Oriental Art, Art Institute, Chicago*, 1933, fig. 7.

31. For the von der Heydt servant see *Sale Catalogue, Dr. O. Burchard & Co.*, I, Teil, Berlin, 1935, no. 298, p. 32. Sirén servant: *Cat. London Exhib.*, no. 120.

32. Mr. L. Sickman, curator of oriental art in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, very

kindly informed me about some points of interest, in a letter written December 27, 1940. The discrepancy between our reproduction and that in Umehara, *Rakuyō*, Pl. 39, is due to the fact that the statuette, when acquired, suffered from bronze disease; in order to save it, it had to be cleaned. During this process the left arm was discovered to be a restoration, and was removed. The original patina was heavier than that of the servants allegedly coming from Chin Ts'un. Height: 10.8 cm.

and a broad, square collar. A ribbon serves as belt, and holds a short sheathed knife at the back. The boy seems to wear breeches; his calves and feet are bare. From under the coat a broad horsetail emerges at the back. The boy is evidently not Chinese, but a native of Central Asia.

Through the coarse, summary rendition of the face, the crude modeling of hands and feet, and the ham-like appearance of forearms and calves, this figure comes very near to the first group of servants described above. But all the other features strongly contradict such an attribution. It would nevertheless be rash to dismiss the piece as spurious. The rigid, soldierly pose of the oldest servant figures had met more than halfway the intentions and abilities of artists who had to represent man for the first time; once its solemn effect became apparent, it was very likely retained. Those figures were put into graves, according to the information available, and belong thus to the category of hieratic art. This would satisfactorily explain their "severe" character.

It might be objected that the boy in Kansas City had evidently the same function, as indicated by the two sockets; all of them were, I think, bearers of candlesticks or torches. But this does not imply that he was intended to serve in the same capacity, i.e. as a grave figure. It would be strange if such figures were not used in everyday life, too, and it is quite natural to think of them as conceived in, and giving expression to, a lighter spirit. The kneeling servants of the Bidwell type were certainly the first attempts to represent the human figure for its own sake. Their purpose was purely mortuary: to wait upon the dead. When the living put such figures into their service, they must have felt uneasy about them; less perhaps about their somber appearance than about their somber association: they were reminded too vividly of the grave. For this reason, profane art must have been driven to other subject-matter, and probably very early.

A *point d'appui* for placing the boy in Kansas City in the series of bronze statuettes is given by the ornament of his coat. It consists of triangles for the collar, alternately smooth and filled with thin lines. The coat itself has a scale pattern in the front; the rest is covered with thin lines, bent at right angles, but with rounded corners, crossing each other perpendicularly, and ending in spirals. Here and there a double spiral fills an empty space. It can be assumed that these shallow lines were originally filled with silver wire. The pattern itself is known from some bronze objects. One is a tube, coming probably from Shou Chou, on the Huai River.³³ It is related to the décor of a vessel, called Tou, inlaid in gold.³⁴ This décor is plainly a very late derivative of the dragons of Li Yü. All these objects belong to the period when the new style, which I called the Chin Ts'un style, was in the process of formation. It was stimulated from many quarters, and one can see how the animal décor of earlier times is transformed into a geometric pattern. The analysis of the ornament fits very well into the evidence of the analysis of form; this figure is somewhat later than the group to which the Bidwell servant belongs.

The Wrestlers.—All the statuettes dealt with so far share an irritating disregard for proportion. The kneeling servants have heads which are too large for their slim bodies, and the boy in Kansas City has a trunk which is grotesquely powerful for his small head. This is a common enough phenomenon in Chinese sculpture, from the beginning to the end of its history. It has nothing to do with the ideal of physical beauty, which changed from epoch to

33. Andersson, *op. cit.*, Pl. 184.

34. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Chinese Bronzes*, C. T. Loo, New York, 1939, Pl. 18, no. 32.



FIG. 15



FIG. 16

FIGS. 15-16. KANSAS CITY, WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY: BOY, BRONZE, EARLY FIFTH CENTURY B.C.



FIG. 17. Blockley, Spencer-Churchill Collection: Bronze Wrestlers, Fourth Century B.C.



FIG. 18. New York, Loo Collection: Boy Dancing on Toad, Bronze, Fourth to Third Century B.C.

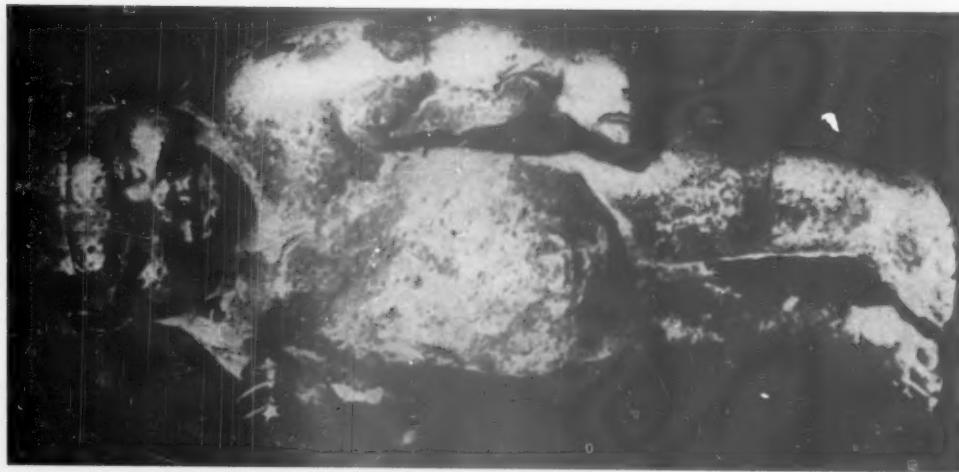


FIG. 19. New York, Winthrop Collection:
Obese Child, Silver, Fourth to Third Century
B.C.



FIG. 20. Hosokawa Collection: Mirror, Bronze Inlaid
with Gold and Silver, Fourth to Third Century B.C.



FIG. 21. Chicago, Art Institute: P'an, Bronze, Middle Chou Period

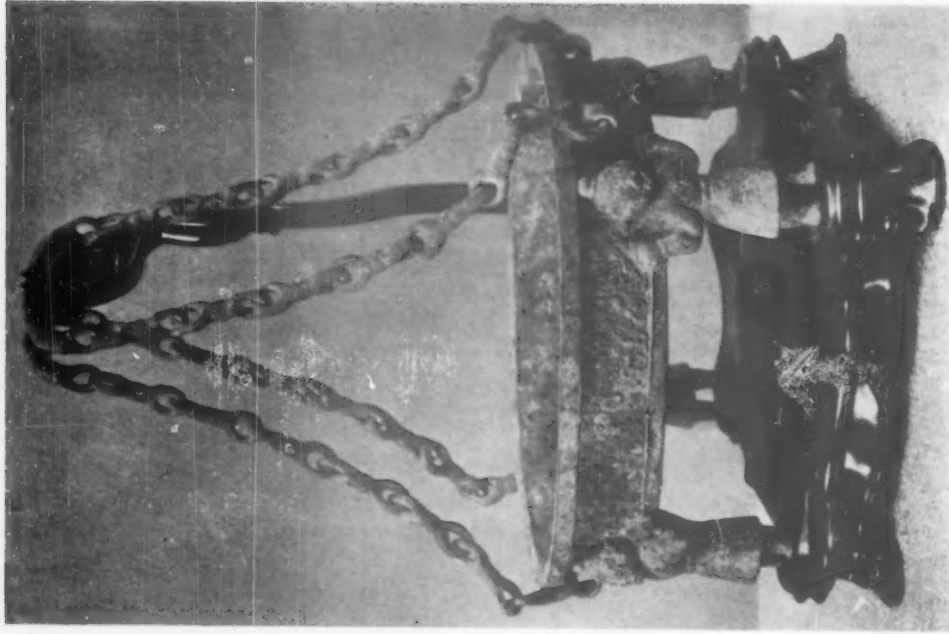


FIG. 22. Chicago, Art Institute: P'an, Bronze, Late Sixth to
Early Fifth Century B.C.

epoch, ranging from anemic delicacy to overflowing stoutness. But stout or slim, the figures are then consistent in the rendition of every part. An incongruous treatment is, in most cases, due to a lack of quality, easily forgiven and forgotten in the earliest stages of evolution, but decidedly indicative of mediocrity in more advanced times.

There are at least three works which show nothing of this disdain for proportion; moreover, they are so bold in conception and complex in form that they must be attributed to a time which had long solved and left behind the problems with which the other statuettes had to struggle. The first is a group of wrestlers (Fig. 17): two young men, nude but for their belts, face each other, clasping their right hand with elbows bent, and grasping their opponent's belt with the left hand. Their legs, well apart and with feet firmly planted on the ground, are also bent. Each head is turned to the left.³⁵ By the simple device of doubling one part, an extremely well-balanced group with two chief views was attained, and these principal views reveal the situation at a single glance. Bodies, heads, and limbs are summarily, but well modeled, with a clear judgment about what is integral in the human figure. Details, such as the nose, the mouth, the eyes, and the hair, are rendered in the slightly perfunctory manner familiar from the majority of these bronzes. The more elaborate rendering of the two figures in the Loo collection and in Toronto is exceptional.

Very little can be said about the meaning of this group. Perhaps the two wrestlers were to follow a dead dignitary into his grave lest he should miss any of the amenities he enjoyed in life: but then one would expect more representations of this kind to have survived. Whether they have any connection with what Rostovtzev called "sacred wrestling" is no more than a guess. The custom must have been one of the striking features of nomad life, and was depicted in the West and the East when the peoples of the steppes had come in contact with the higher cultures there.³⁶ It is not impossible that it was adopted by the Chinese, like so many other things and ideas, from the barbarians.³⁷ It may be equally possible that the group was a symbolic bibelot expressing the wish for healthy male offspring.

The Dancing Boy and the Obese Child.—The second piece is a boy dancing upon a toad, in the Loo collection (Fig. 18).³⁸ The subject-matter makes it impossible to regard the figure as a substitute for a living person, to be entombed. It puts the statuette rather into the class which I have just called symbolic bibelots. Such figures were not made solely to please the eye; above all they were auspicious symbols. Though it is always dangerous to interpret the practices and beliefs of early epochs in terms of evidence dating from much later times, it

35. Collection of E. G. Spencer-Churchill, Blockley, England. Height: 15.3 cm.

36. M. Rostovtzev, *The Animal Style in South Russia and China*, Princeton, 1929, Pl. 29. The plaque is now in the Art Institute of Chicago. "... One of the most familiar groups in the Greek art of Panticapaeum which endeavoured to portray the military and religious life of the Scythians" (p. 93).

37. The costumes and customs of the nomadic horsemen permeated the north of China from the sixth century onward. It is expressly recorded that in 453 B.C., Wu Hsü of Chao had the skull of his slain enemy turned into a drinking cup (O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, I, Berlin, 1930, p. 180; H. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, Paris, 1927, p. 366). This barbaric custom seems to have had a fascinating attraction, for it was readily taken up by the tribes and peoples who had come into contact with the warlike inhabitants of the steppes, in the East as well as in the West: in 567 A.D. Alboin, King of the Lombards (561-571), likewise had the head of his adversary

Kunimund, King of the Gepides, made into a drinking cup. Though separated in space by the whole expanse of Eurasia, and in time by more than a millennium, the two events have a common source: the thrust of the nomads into the world of settled cultures. Albeit it is only reported of Wu Ling of Chao who ruled during the last quarter of the fourth century in Northern Shansi that "he changed the customs, adopted the costume of the Huns (Hu), and practised archery while riding to adapt himself better to the nature of the country and the tactics of the Huns" (Franke, *op. cit.*, p. 195), the typical costume of the nomads, consisting of high boots, trousers, and a kaftan-like coat, was certainly taken over much earlier: a P'an in the Art Institute of Chicago, with its typical Huai décor of hooks and spirals, is supported by four little men in this outfit (Fig. 22). The P'an is a little earlier than 500 B.C.

38. Height: 10 cm.—The lesser height of all these figures which were, in my opinion, not meant to go into tombs, should be noted.

must be borne in mind that the Chinese used such symbols from the outset, and that there is no reason to assume that they ceased to do so in the meantime. In later representations the toad stands usually for the toad in the moon, and is then a symbol of longevity.³⁹ The boy can be easily understood as the visible wish for a son. These two ideas certainly ranked foremost in the mind of every Chinese then, as they do now.

Be that as it may, the statuette is a most surprising and very charming work of art. The boy balances on his right foot; the left leg is lifted, and so are both his arms. But this description scarcely does justice to this little masterpiece: the constantly changing directions of limbs and body, and the fluency of line convey the impression of swift and easy motion. This group is no longer composed in planes parallel to each other, as the two wrestlers were: it reckons decidedly with diagonal recession. It is very difficult to assign a date to it. That it belongs to the figures dealt with here is obvious from the treatment of form. That it is more recent is evident: the twisted axes, the atectonic composition, the impossibility of seeing toad and boy as clearly as one would wish from one and the same point, the selection of a fleeting moment for the representation, all this demonstrates its mature and late character.

These features provide at least a clue for determining the place of the dancing boy within the history of Chinese art, for the same phenomena are characteristic of some two-dimensional representations on mirrors. Such mirrors are commonly labeled "Huai," although they are definitely later; they are contemporaneous with the bronzes decorated in the typical Chin Ts'un style and technique. On them one can see fantastic animals of great vigor and expressiveness, with their bodies twisted around in quick, ferocious action. This must not be confused with the representation of such animals in a single plane; but when, for instance, a dragon is seen with its body bent side- and backward, and with its head hidden behind an upraised fore-limb, then the attitude towards form is the same as in the dancing boy.⁴⁰ Problem and solution are the same in either case. The same holds, of course, for the mirror in the collection of the Marquis Hosokawa, where a tiger defends himself in the same position against a warrior on horseback riding out obliquely from the background (Fig. 20). This mirror is said to hail from the tombs of Chin Ts'un, and the claim is well supported by its inlaid décor. The absence of rectangular patterns puts it among the later works of this style.

On the theory that the graves of Chin Ts'un were built and filled while the state of Han existed, the lower limit would be the year 230 B.C. Although very few *points d'appui* exist for the history of Chinese art during the last three centuries B.C., enough data are known to show that the typical works of the first Han dynasty are very different from those asserted to have come from Chin Ts'un.

There is another small sculpture which may be helpful in the problem of dating. It is the silver statuette of an obese child in the Winthrop collection, New York (Fig. 19). The figure is nude: it stands upright, with the right arm slightly bent and the left hanging down; the head is turned to the left. The dragging weight and deforming effect of excessive fat are extraordinarily well seen and realized. The motive invites comparison with the two wrestlers. The silver statuette is decidedly more mature in every respect; to point out only one important difference, the artist was concerned with the texture of things, and succeeded admirably in rendering the unctuous skin of a corpulent person. No such problem had entered the ken of the master who made the two wrestlers.

39. Cf. F. Lessing, "Über die Symbolsprache in der chinesischen Kunst," *Sinica*, ix, Frankfurt a/M., 1934, 138.

40. Mirror in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm. Cf. Sirén, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. 84B.

This statuette fortunately bears an incised inscription.⁴¹ From the standpoint of epigraphy, the script tallies with that on other objects allegedly from Chin Ts'un, and is therefore "decidedly anterior to the normalizing unification of the script carried through by Ch'in Shih Huang Ti and his famous minister Li Ssü."⁴²

It is quite safe to conclude that the obese child and the dancing boy stand at the end of a long series of human figures which started haltingly in the second half of the sixth, and reached its baroque climax before the Ch'in dynasty had come to power in the last quarter of the third century B.C.

III

Had these figures been brought to our knowledge some fifteen years ago, they would have been ascribed without hesitation to the Han or even later epochs. The Han period was then, and still is for many, the receptacle of all those more or less puzzling products of Chinese art which would fit neither into the later periods nor into the first millennium B.C. It was almost an article of faith that there existed no such thing as figural sculpture prior to the Han dynasties, notwithstanding the well-known, and often quoted, record upon the twelve barbarian giants in bronze which Shih Huang Ti (221-209) had set up in his A Fang palace at Hsien Yang. Even when a marble fragment of a squatting human figure was discovered at An Yang, it did not call for a revision of this belief. This figure was covered with a characteristic Shang décor of hooks all over, and had a deep groove on its back: it was certainly fitted into a beam, or pillar, and this determines it as a piece of architectural decoration. The "Royal Tombs" at Hou Chia Chuang near An Yang yielded a few human and animal figures, completely in the round and free from any architectural trammels.⁴³ Though the human figures were not published, it is fair to assume that in style they resembled the animals very much. These are rather uncouth in form, and overspun with the patterns so well known from Shang bronzes. In other words, human and animal figures were treated as a vessel or an implement was treated; to the artist they were merely surfaces of various shapes to be adorned. This puts them into a class of their own, and decidedly outside the category of sculpture which exists by right of form alone. This peculiar attitude was to be taken by the Chinese for many centuries to come: plastic art as conceived by the peoples of western Asia did not exist. Needless to say, this must not be understood in a deprecatory sense; it is merely a statement of fact.

As far as the available material goes, this attitude persisted until the time when the bronzes of Li Yü were cast; even then, and afterwards, the Chinese did not completely part with their old and long-cherished ideals. But in the second half of the seventh century B.C., "naturalistic" representations of animals make their first appearance in Chinese art, either in the round upon the lids of some legged vessels, or in relief upon the rims and the fonds of some dishes.⁴⁴ This was a matter of great moment, for it amounted to the replacement of symbols by the representation of things as they were actually seen. It was something new in principle. It is true that in the very early days of Shang art, a few animals were drawn immediately from nature; they were, however, quickly absorbed by the growing, and finally omnipotent, trend towards geometrization. The new representations go beyond their Shang predecessors, not only by rendering the animal in motion, but by depicting action which involved at least two creatures.

41. Karlgren, "Notes," p. 76; for the inscription, cf. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, p. 25, fig. 141.

42. Karlgren, "Notes," p. 77.

43. P. Pelliot, *The Royal Tombs of An-yang. Studies in Chinese Art and some Indian Influences*, London, n.d., p. 59.

44. Umehara, *Étude*, Pl. 1, 2, 7, 23; 13, 24.

It is scarcely a coincidence that this capital change occurred at a time when new motives appeared on Chinese bronzes: the braid, the plaited ribbon, the cord, the double spiral, the marking of the main joints of an animal by spirals; or new techniques: an imitation of granulation, and the reappearance of semi-precious stones inlaid in metal; a new implement: the mirror with a loop on the back.⁴⁵ It may be added that not until then did the Chinese become acquainted with the sword: they took over the Scythian *akinakes*.⁴⁶ Since all these things appear suddenly, without preparation, it must be inferred that they came from without. I need not enumerate the many treatises of scholars such as Patte, Janse, Umehara, and von Heine-Geldern who saw the problem of foreign affiliation, and pointed to the Caucasus and to Hallstadt as sources of inspiration, not to speak of the obvious influence of Central Asia.⁴⁷

The situation would be simple had Li Yü yielded a human figure, or if at least a figure with an unmistakable Li Yü décor existed. Granted that China did not know the isolated figure of man before this epoch which saw the invasion of foreign forms and ideas; but her artists had cast human figures long before that time. There is a large bronze dish, of the type called P'an, in the Art Institute of Chicago, which is supported by three small figures, all nude—one a woman, one a man, and the third of undetermined sex (Fig. 21). Their breasts are indicated by circles of a double ribbon, and this same double ribbon appears in flat relief in the frieze under the rim; it is a characteristic Middle Chou pattern. This period lasted, according to Karlgren, from ca. 950 to 771 B.C.⁴⁸

The use of human figures as caryatids is not very surprising, for at this time a number of vessels were made which were lifted from the ground by "animals." This had the effect of a certain lightness, and marks the beginning of a definite current towards a baroque ideal of form. Its apogee is reached in some vessels discovered in Hsin Chêng. Neither is the replacement of theriomorphous by human shapes out of order, since Chinese artists occasionally felt the whim of smuggling a solitary human being into the large herd of animals they kept for decoration. Such tiny figures, crudely kneaded as they are, were not an artistic heritage to draw on when it came to shaping man in statuesque isolation. This accounts for the rather primitive results when Chinese art first embarked on this unaccustomed enterprise.

The Bidwell servant is one of the first attempts to solve the new task; the décor of the socle fortunately enables one to date it and a series of similar works. It is clearly a derivative of the Li Yü pattern, and was probably more or less contemporaneous with the "Huai" décor of hooks and spirals. The T'ao-t'ieh masks holding the rings of the Hellström vase, which has an identical décor, also speak for this date. In other words, these statuettes must have been cast between ca. 550 and 450 B.C.

One may wonder why they are so crude and uncouth, with the excellent animals on the

45. Bachhofer, *op. cit.*, p. 257. The change took place in the seventh century, not in the fifth to fourth, as I thought in 1935.

46. "... bronze swords do not occur in China until the middle Chou" (W. C. White, *Tomb Tile Pictures of Ancient China*, Toronto, 1939, p. 36). "But strange to say there were no swords, rapiers or two-edged daggers in the Shang Dynasty. They were not introduced until a much later day, about the time of Confucius" (J. M. Menzies, in *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Ancient Chinese Ritual Bronzes*, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1940, "The First Cultural Epoch."

47. I do not maintain that all these new elements arrived at the same time, though they probably arrived close to-

gether. It must be remembered that decorative elements do not wander on their own account; they are set in motion by man. In this case it was an upheaval of nomads in innermost Asia, unknown in its origin, but well known in its effects, which had sent these men to the West, the East, and the South. The time is known when the outer waves broke on historical ground in these three quarters: the seventh century B.C. Its indirect effects upon the fringes of the settled world were even greater; it affected Indochina, and reached out into the South Sea, and made the Celts leave their homes in Central Europe.

48. "Yin and Chou," p. 148.

lids of the Li Yü vessels preceding them. There are two reasons for this phenomenon. The first is that a continuous, though thin line of theriomorphous sculpture ran from the buffalo of Shang time, in the Sedgwick collection, to the buffalo of middle Chou time, in the Pillsbury collection; when the Chinese artist was confronted with the task of creating an animal unadulterated by a surface décor, he found the means ready for doing so.⁴⁹ He could continue where his predecessors had stopped.

The second reason is that such a tradition not only did not exist for him who had to represent man in this new way, but that the idea of doing so seemingly sprang up at a later time, i.e. in the period when the Huai style flourished. In this time, and even in the following epoch which saw the rise of the Chin Ts'un style, the artistic level of such small plastic works had apparently declined: one has only to compare the animals on the various vessels from Li Yü with those crouching on the Ting from Chin Ts'un.⁵⁰ The first attempts at human figures coincided exactly with this low level.⁵¹

The boy in Kansas City cannot be very far removed from such figures, though he shows greater freedom in composition and a breaking away from rigidly applied symmetry; but the almost grotesque disproportion between his head and his body, and certain details range him with the group of older statuettes. The pattern on his coat puts him in the period when the new style, working with thin inlaid geometric devices, began to make itself felt. This must have been in the first half of the fifth century.

More recent, but not very much so, are the two figures in Toronto and the Loo collection: they show a better understanding of proportion, and a greater clarity of form. The further development can be followed without difficulty; it may be characterized as a process of progressive differentiation and integration of the human figure. The creative power of the sculptor must have reasserted itself, for the two wrestlers, the dancing boy, and the obese child, are not only charming *objets d'art*, but real masterpieces.

Parallel to this evolution of the human figure from the simple to the complicated runs the evolution of animal sculpture, and the evolution of the decorative system. From the historical point of view, it is important that the development reached its climax before the rise of the Ch'in. From this basis then emerged the art of the first Han dynasty.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

49. *Cat. London Exhib.*, no. 268A, 186.

50. Umehara, *Étude*, Pl. 119; *Rakuyō*, Pl. 10. *Loo Cat.*, 1939, Pl. 17.

51. The religious significance of statuettes which served as substitutes for the living to be buried with their masters, has less bearing on the problem than is generally assumed. For this purpose almost anything might have served, once it was accepted and acknowledged as a substitute: besides wood, straw was used as material for such figures, and then the question of form certainly did not arise. According to

the *Li Chi* (II, sect. II, part 1, 45) Confucius objected to the use of wooden figures instead of those of straw lest they might lead to human sacrifices for the dead. When mustering the compilation of the records on such human sacrifices, made by Carl Hentze (*Chinese Tomb Figures*, London, 1928, pp. 11 ff.), one wonders whether this barbaric custom, widespread under the Shangs, had not fallen into disuse later, to be revived at the time when a new strong wave of foreign forms, customs, and ideas swept over China.

BOOK REVIEWS

ANTHONY BLUNT, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940. Pp. vi + 168; 12 plates. \$2.75.

This excellent little book is a stimulating and well-balanced account of the development of artistic theory in Italy from its first Renaissance formulation in Alberti to the end of the Mannerist period. Intended primarily as an introduction to the aesthetic of an age of rapid development and striking contrasts, for students who would gain thereby a fuller understanding of its art, the book is an admirable guide. It deals with a literature sometimes of general interest and superior quality, as in Michelangelo and Vasari, but very often refractory, difficult, and read by none but the specialist, yet extremely important if one would fully comprehend the significance of artistic development. Mr. Blunt has traced and defined important tendencies in the aesthetic of the period with clarity and with a discriminating omission of matter that might for the beginner confuse or obstruct the main course of the argument. But the advanced student will also find the volume a revealing account of a century and a half of aesthetic theory to which no entire book had previously been dedicated. Its format is attractive and handy, and it contains twelve well-chosen plates that serve to illuminate the discussion in the text. These are taken from works that shape or reflect artistic theory, such as Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* or the *Hyperotomachia Poliphili*, or they illustrate works of art, chiefly by Michelangelo, that are related to theories under discussion.

An interesting first chapter on Alberti defines his humanism as a rational view of life, distinguished by a fine moderation, in which, as in ancient philosophy, reason and judgment are guides to individual self-control, and hence to social good. To this general point of view Alberti's self-conscious classicism as an architect, and his conception of architecture as a civic activity, are intimately related. There is an excellent discussion of his theory of imitation with its combined naturalism and idealism—a combination to be expected from a practicing artist who lived in an age of intense artistic experiment, and who was at the same time a serious student of ancient art and criticism. Near the end of the chapter, apropos of Alberti's relation to Neoplatonism, occurs the statement that "mystical Neoplatonism was encouraged by Lorenzo de' Medici, perhaps to some extent for political reasons. At any rate it certainly served his ends; for the Neoplatonists at this time laid much more emphasis on the contemplative than on the active life; and it suits an autocrat to keep thinking men as far as possible out of active politics in order that he may enjoy his absolute power undisturbed." This seems to the reviewer a political interpretation of the activity of the Platonic Academy under Lorenzo that is unwarranted, and that tends to give a wrong impression of the character of Florentine Neoplatonism which was, after all, an important aspect of the broad cultural movement of the Renaissance, and shared its vitality. The intense interest in the ancient world and in Greek studies would, of themselves, have made the study of Plato

and of the Platonic tradition inevitable. But the otherworldliness of Dante, whom the Platonic Academy regarded as an illustrious forerunner, and the admiration of Petrarch, taught chiefly by Cicero and St. Augustine, for Plato as a philosopher whose doctrines foreshadowed those of Christianity, had already prepared the way for the enthusiastic study of "Platonism" in the fifteenth century. And Ficino and Pico were tremendous scholars and enthusiasts who were going to tend the lamp before the bust of Plato whether Lorenzo encouraged them or not.

The succeeding section on Leonardo is an admirable summing up of his passionate empiricism, as opposed to the empiricism of the humanistic Alberti which was tempered by notions of the beautiful and the typical derived from antiquity. Perhaps Leonardo emerges from this chapter a trifle simplified—too purely the empiricist and devoted worshipper of nature, and too little aware of the varied intellectual currents of his time. Two short sections follow. In the first, entitled "Colonna: Filarete: Savonarola," the author gives, *inter alia*, a good analysis of the romantic classicism of the *Hyperotomachia Poliphili*, so different from the rational classicism (and attendant archaeological method) of Alberti, commenting on Colonna's melancholy delight in ruins as symbols of impermanence—a sentimental and nostalgic approach to antiquity that may recall to the reader a host of similar examples in poetry and painting, from Du Bellay's lament in the sixteenth century over the ruins of Rome to Pannini's nostalgic painting in the eighteenth when, as Mr. Blunt remarks, this kind of romantic sentiment had become particularly fashionable. Poussin among the ruins of Rome had reflected upon "the unimaginable touch of time," but a sentiment that in susceptible lesser artists was but pleasantly nostalgic and superficial, was translated in some of Poussin's finest landscapes into an elegiac poetry both subtle and profound. At the end of this section occurs an interesting, if very brief, analysis of medieval and Renaissance elements in Savonarola's view of art.

In the second of these short chapters, "The Social Position of the Artist," the author discusses briefly the struggle of architects, sculptors, and painters to raise their arts out of the category of mechanical arts, wrought by hand and by mere craftsmen, which they had been considered in the Middle Ages, to the dignity of liberal arts of equal honor with poetry. And both here and elsewhere in the book Mr. Blunt might have pointed out that the theory of imitation which lies at the heart of Renaissance aesthetic is in its origins in Aristotle, Horace, and others a literary theory originally intended for poetry; and that throughout the Renaissance and Baroque periods the theory of painting was in all philosophical essentials a theory taken almost bodily from the poetic of antiquity, and absolutely parallel in many ways to the literary theory of the Renaissance. Thus painting not only asserted herself, as in Leonardo's *paragone*, as an art whose performance was in certain ways uniquely superior to that of poetry; conversely painting for several centuries borrowed the aesthetic of the art which she sought to emulate.

In the chapter on Michelangelo, the author at-

tempts to trace the growth of the great artist's theories of love and beauty (with their bearing on his conception of art and of the artist's activity) from a first period ending in 1530, in which his poetry betrays an enthusiasm for physical beauty combined with a Neoplatonic worship of absolute beauty, through a second period, lasting some fifteen years, when his mind dwells on the decay of physical beauty which is yet the necessary visual stimulus to urge the mind to a contemplation of the divine Idea of beauty, to a final period in which he renounces mortal beauty even as a symbol of the divine. And in this final period he even turns away from the Idea of beauty which, as he tells us in an earlier sonnet, had been a sure guide to him in his vocation, and an inspiration to lofty creation in painting and sculpture (quoted on p. 69), to cast himself in passionate Christian penitence on the mercy of God, renouncing painting and sculpture and the fond imagination which made art his idol and king (p. 80). Mr. Blunt sets these changes in the content of Michelangelo's poetry against the political and religious changes which occurred in Italy during his lifetime and profoundly affected him; and a parallel is drawn throughout the chapter between similar content in his art and in his writing. Thus, according to Mr. Blunt, his art up to 1530 corresponds to those early poems which display an enthusiasm for the beauty of the human body; the *Last Judgment* (finished in 1541), in which there is little reference to the real world, corresponds to the second period of the poems in which the poet laments the passing of physical beauty and cries out, like Sophocles, in tragic bitterness that he is happiest whose death follows soonest on his birth; the last *Pietàs* and drawings correspond to the late religious sonnets. Now these divisions and correspondences have, of course, foundation in fact, and serve to clarify Michelangelo's development both as artist and poet-theoretician. Nevertheless, Mr. Blunt, who is well aware that there is something organic in the development of Michelangelo's ideas which does not altogether fit his useful divisions into periods, might have been at greater pains to emphasize what is constant in the artist's development as well as the differences encountered at various stages along the way; and to do this would be perhaps to give a truer account of the nature of this development. Thus when Mr. Blunt remarks of the second period (p. 70) that "the strong physical passion of the early love poems has given place to doctrines which make of love the contemplation of an incorporeal beauty," he is overstating the case, for in the early poems, in spite of a certain enthusiasm for earthly beauty which one may contrast with a keen realization of its decay sometimes expressed during the second period, earthly beauty is still a stair which leads the lover upward to a contemplation of immaterial beauty. Michelangelo is as thoroughly Neoplatonic at the beginning as he is later; in fact he is, in a sense, more so, for in the second period in the sonnets to Cavalieri and elsewhere, his Neoplatonism has sometimes a stronger Christian accent than at the beginning, in his reference, for instance, to the fount of mercy as the source of beauty (p. 68), and in the way in which the Neoplatonic term *grazia* (grace)

sometimes takes on Christian overtones if not actual Christian meaning. It is not then, in the writer's opinion, quite correct to say, as Mr. Blunt does (p. 70), that during the second period Michelangelo's poems show strongly the more mystical elements of Neoplatonism. What they sometimes show is a more Christian Neoplatonism than in the beginning, and Michelangelo is actually as much, if not more, a pure Neoplatonic mystic in the first period when he tends, with less sense of the dichotomy between matter and spirit, to accept the Neoplatonic monistic doctrine of the One in the Many—the informing presence of ideal beauty in matter. Yet even in the poems of the first period there is also the Neoplatonic desire to escape the bright beauty of the world of which he is at the same time enamored; and therein lie already the germs of his final renunciation of earthly beauty and of his art when he throws himself on the mercy of God. Again Mr. Blunt's statement that "in the first period, ending roughly in 1530, Michelangelo's view of the arts is that of High Renaissance Humanism," might also be scanned. For the ideas and feeling of the early poems do not fit the rational canons of humanism, and though it is true, as Mr. Blunt says, that Michelangelo's art up to 1530 is founded on nature in the sense that it implies a thorough grounding in anatomy according to the scientific tradition of Florence, it is far from the serene humanistic art of a Raphael. Instead, the strong, anfractuous style of his figures betrays an inner conflict symbolic of the struggle of the spirit to free itself from the bondage of the flesh—a struggle finally abandoned in the piety and passionate resignation of his latest sculpture and poetry. Thus even in figures from Mr. Blunt's first period, like the Sistine *Adam*, that most display the artist's love of corporeal beauty, the ascetic late works are implied, just as in Donatello's early work an intense spirituality sometimes implies the total renunciation of the world expressed in his last works. Therefore when Mr. Blunt, after quoting the famous late sonnet already referred to, in which the artist renouncing the world, the artistic imagination, and art itself, turns to the outstretched arms of Christ on the Cross, remarks (p. 80) that "it is hard to believe that the Humanist creator of the early Bacchus, or even the painter of the Sistine ceiling would one day pray to renounce the arts from feelings of Christian piety," one may again disagree. And it may be interesting to recall that the poet Shelley, who was an admirer of Greek art and literature, once expressed his dislike of the *Bacchus* (whose particular excellence he obviously did not appreciate) precisely because it was anticlassical both in style and content. "The countenance of this figure," Shelley remarked, "is the most revolting mistake of the spirit and meaning of Bacchus. It looks drunken, brutal, and narrow-minded, and has an expression of dissoluteness the most revolting. *The lower part of the figure is stiff, and the manner in which the shoulders are united to the breast and the neck to the head, abundantly inharmonious.* It is altogether without unity, as was the idea of the deity of Bacchus in the conception of a Catholic" (quoted by Symonds, *Life of Michelangelo*). These remarks are not at all points dis-

criminating but they are penetrating nonetheless.

A short section on such minor writers of the High Renaissance as Dolce, Pino, and Biondo leads to an interesting chapter on Vasari—the first of three final chapters dealing with Mannerist theory. Mr. Blunt's discussion is centered about the fundamental term *la grazia* which in Vasari means a certain *je ne sais quoi* in painting, which is a gift of nature not to be acquired by labor and study (a similar conception of grace was known to antiquity). It is an indefinable quality that eludes definition and is to be distinguished in Vasari from beauty, which depends, according to humanist doctrine that followed the common opinion of the ancients, on an harmonious proportion of parts, and is therefore, by contrast, a rational quality. Furthermore, it is associated in Vasari's mind with sweetness, elegance, and facility; and this emphasis on aesthetic superficiality at the expense of expression and of human content, Mr. Blunt rightly relates to the surface ingenuity of the Florentine Mannerist painters with its attendant "lowering of the intellectual and emotional tone of art." And it may be remarked in passing that although in the Baroque period, the arts finally discarded the uncreative formulas of Mannerism and took a new lease on life, painting and sculpture in Italy, despite moments of extraordinary brilliance, never regained the rich balance between the sensuous, the emotional, and the intellectual, and hence the deep and valid human utterance, of the art of the Renaissance. After a stylistic comparison of Leonardo's *Last Supper* with Tiepolo's, Wölfflin quietly remarks, "It is a pity that Tiepolo has no more to say to us." But to return to Mr. Blunt's chapter, grace in Vasari is apprehended by "the judgement of the eye; for even though a thing is perfectly measured, if the eye is still offended, it will not cease to censure it" (quoted by Blunt, p. 91). Judgment, as Mr. Blunt observes, is no longer the rational faculty of Alberti, but "is rather an instinct, an irrational gift, allied to what we call taste, and residing not so much in the mind as in the eye" (p. 91). And when Vasari writes to Aretino that he has painted a group of fighting nudes first to show his skill in art, and only secondly to follow the story (p. 92), he is again, one may point out, opposed to the humanism of Alberti, for whom the painting of the *storia* was the important goal of the painter's training. To such a theory of art, which has substituted mere appeal to the eye for appeal to the mind through the eye, corresponds that aspect of Mannerist painting in which, to quote Mr. Blunt, "the nude was simply the unit in a jig-saw puzzle, to be twisted and fitted into a decorative scheme" (p. 92), or the chilling decorative portraiture of a Bronzino. And it is characteristic of Vasari's bloodless aesthetic that he disliked emotion in art, and found distasteful the religious emotion of one Florentine painter, also called a Mannerist, whose art reveals far more than surface values—Pontormo.

The penultimate chapter, entitled "The Council of Trent and Religious Art," is perhaps the most informative and interesting in the book. Here the author shows with admirable clarity how the control of the Catholic Church influenced artists to abandon

Renaissance ideals of space, human proportions, and color, and to return to a quasi-medieval aesthetic which implies a denial of humanist values; how the clerical criticism of the age tended to substitute a moralistic for an aesthetic theory of the arts, and sought to restrain the free activity of the artist; how at the same time art was, in a positive way, encouraged by the Council of Trent to stimulate religious emotion; how finally the realistic attitude of the Jesuits in emphasizing appeal to the emotions in the propagation of the faith prepared the way for the Baroque movement of the following century. The final chapter dealing with the writing of the late Mannerists—Zuccaro, Lomazzo, Armenini—discusses the mystical and medieval elements in the Mannerist theory of imitation (this is the retrospective aspect of the theory), but shows as well how the concern with "rules" based upon the invention, practice, and theory of the past, and with the *Maniera antica* based upon a study of ancient sculpture, points the way to the eclecticism and formalistic classicism of the Baroque. The principle of authority, which in the name of individual reason the Renaissance denied in aesthetic as in all other matters, is reinstated by writers on art and literature of the latter sixteenth century in the name of the perfect antique.

One might remark of the book as a whole (and the reviewer has already touched upon this point) that the author has not emphasized enough the pervasive effect of ancient theory on the Renaissance theory of the arts. For the theory of decorum, for instance, he fails to suggest any ancient background when he remarks that it appears for the first time in Leonardo (though he undoubtedly means for the first time in the Renaissance, the theory had actually appeared already in Alberti's *Della pittura*). He might have pointed out that behind all Renaissance theory of decorum among critics both of art and literature lay the potent influence of Horace's *Ars poetica* and many passages from the Roman rhetoricians. And when Mr. Blunt states (p. 36) that "in the hands of Leonardo decorum is simply an element in the complete rendering of the outside world, without which history painting would be incomplete and unconvincing," he fails to note that decorum as defined both by Leonardo and Horace is a formalistic concept which implies a generalizing, not a particular, mode of representation that is really inconsistent with Leonardo's usually realistic and empirical approach to nature. And further, apropos of decorum, when Mr. Blunt remarks that Gilio da Fabriano attacks Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* in the name of morality, whereas Aretino and Dolce more often in their attacks appeal to the theory of decorum (p. 123), it should be remembered that actually decorum (here with strong implications of decency and propriety in matters of morality and religion) is tremendously important throughout much of Gilio's dialogue, which is, in a very real sense, a treatise on decorum with extended comment on various quoted passages dealing with this concept from Horace's *Ars poetica*. And Gilio maintains the general point of view that the ignorance of painters breeds that indecorum in religious art which has evil

effects on morality. Thus a highly typical document of the Counter-Reformation is at the same time pervaded by a critical concept derived from antiquity, which the author has adapted to his moralistic criticism of religious art.

Again, in the case of the theory of expression, it should be remembered that Horace's advice to the tragic actor, *si vis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi* (if you want me to weep, you must grieve first yourself), was accepted as fundamental in sixteenth-century criticism both of art and literature. And so when the Jesuit Possevino remarks in his *Tractatio de poesi et pictura* (1595) that if the painter of martyrdoms is to convey their horrors to the spectator, he must first feel these horrors himself, he is, as Mr. Blunt says, directly applying the methods of St. Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* to the practice of the arts; but there are nine chances out of ten that he also remembers Horace's popular dictum which had become a byword of criticism, and that he is adapting it (much as Gilio had adapted the Horatian theory of decorum) to the propagandistic uses of his order.

The book shows a fine capacity for clear generalization and is written with an admirable simplicity. It should be of great value to teachers of undergraduate courses in Italian art, who have had hitherto no good book in English on the aesthetic of the Italian Renaissance to which they could direct their students. And it provides invaluable background for courses in the Baroque. A knowledge of the theory of art in any period obviously increases and deepens an understanding of the art itself. And such knowledge is of supreme importance in the case of the Renaissance, when artists themselves, who often associated closely with learned men and were keenly aware of the aesthetic speculation of their age, generally made the most significant contributions to the theory of art.

RENSSELAER W. LEE
Smith College

ERWIN PANOFSKY, *The Codex Huygens and Leonardo da Vinci's Art Theory: The Pierpont Morgan Library Codex M.A. 1139* (*Studies of the Warburg Institute*, vol. 13), London, The Warburg Institute, 1940. Pp. 138; 117 plates. 30 s.

This codex, recently acquired from London by The Pierpont Morgan Library, is an unfinished treatise on design, written on one hundred and twenty-eight sheets, by a Milanese painter in the latter half of the sixteenth century.¹ It is an attempt to record for the benefit of students the new scientific knowledge developed through actual experiment by the great painters of the Renaissance. That such a treatise was written in answer to a prevailing need and a desire to understand these problems, and corresponded to the inquiring temper of the period, is attested by the number of artists who wrote on the subject, including such masters as L. B. Alberti and

Piero della Francesca. Leonardo da Vinci left many notes on the subject to Francesco Melzi, who tried to coördinate them; and there is evidence that other manuscripts by Leonardo may have been circulating among artists at that time. The compiler of the Huygens Codex moved in this Vincian orbit. He copied from Leonardo's notes and drawings. His work, entitled *Le Regole del Disegno*, was to comprise fourteen "regole" or "libri," of which only the first five are included in the codex, and these in an uneven and confused form. They are devoted almost entirely to the human figure. The first book deals with its form and structure; the second with its movements; the third with methods of transforming the profile elevation of the human figure into front and rear elevations; the fourth with proportions of the human figure and of the horse; and the fifth with perspective.

No more adept editor for this material could have been found than Professor Panofsky. He begins with a succinct chapter on the history of the manuscript, following which he discusses its general content, pagination, and the date and place of origin so far as these can be determined from a study of watermarks. A catalogue of the manuscript follows, with a summary of the text on each of the one hundred and twenty-eight folios and explanatory notes. The concluding section is devoted to the intricate question of authorship and to an examination of the sources of the author's material. The latter investigation has led the editor to provide a series of dissertations on the science of perspective, the methods adopted by Renaissance artists in staging their compositions, canons of proportion at different periods, and Leonardo's and Dürer's conceptions of movement. The book is copiously illustrated; seventy-two of the one hundred and twenty-eight folios are reproduced, including nineteen copies from lost originals by Leonardo.

Leonardo's manuscripts constituted one of the chief sources for the writer of the codex, and Panofsky devotes much of his attention to tracing this influence. In this review we should like, for the most part, to elaborate further on this aspect of the newly published material.

To begin with, the story of the purchase of our codex in the seventeenth century may throw new light on the somewhat obscure history of Leonardo's manuscripts in the Royal Collection at Windsor. When Constantijn Huygens, Secretary to King William III of England, acquired it, he thought that he had secured an original manuscript by Leonardo, as is indicated by his letter to his brother Chrystian, the famous physicist, written from Kensington Palace on March 3, 1690. A few months later, on September 1, 1690, he made the following entry in his diary:

"Smorgens te 9 ueren, ick noch niet op wesende, sondt de Coningin weder om mij, en sagh het boek van Leonardo en dat van Holbeen."² ("This morning at 9 o'clock, I being not yet up, the Queen again sent

1. I take this opportunity to express appreciation of the help afforded me by Miss Belle da Costa Greene and Miss Meta Harrsen in facilitating my study of the original manuscript at the Morgan Library.

2. *Journal van Constantijn Huygens, den Zoon, van 21. Oct. 1688 tot 2. Sept. 1696* (*Werken, uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht, Nieuwe Reeks*, xxiii), 1876, pp. 227, 326.

for me and [I] saw the book of Leonardo da Vinci and that of Holbein.")

Panofsky paraphrases this entry as follows (p. 11), leaving out the reference to Holbein's book: "On September 1st, at nine o'clock in the morning he (Huygens) 'not yet being up,' the Queen sent for him in order to be shown the precious volume" [i.e., our codex, which Huygens thought to be by Leonardo]. But the mention of a book of Holbein in conjunction with one of Leonardo would seem to suggest that they may have been the same books which were discovered together in a cabinet in Kensington Palace in 1778—i.e., Holbein's book of portraits of the court of Henry VIII and the volume of Leonardo's drawings now in the Royal Collection. If so, does not the note in Huygens' diary refute the old story, questioned in part by Sir Kenneth Clark in his catalogue of Leonardo drawings at Windsor, that after having been put away in a coffer by Charles I in the time of the Civil War, these two volumes were not discovered until 1778 in Kensington Palace? If our assumption is correct, Queen Mary in the previous century was fully aware of their existence.

We turn now to the contents of the Codex Huygens. On one and the same sheet (folio 75) there are four tracings from drawings of a horse's head, of which two are now at Windsor and two at the Institut de France. These tracings must therefore have been made before the dispersal of the manuscripts which Leonardo had bequeathed to Francesco Melzi, that is to say before or soon after 1570, the date of Francesco's death. We know that the Melzi bequest was not only dispersed but that a great part of it has been lost. Of importance are a number of folios in the Huygens codex which obviously reproduce some of these lost drawings. There are, for instance, no less than six different views with proportions of the stalwart horse "Siciliano," of which only one original has survived. This horse, which was owned by Galeazzo di San Severino, was measured by Leonardo in order to ascertain the proportions for his model of the Sforza Monument. We also learn the breed and shape of another horse that served the same purpose—the "Frissone."

The profile illustrating the proportions of the head on folio 54^r was traced from a drawing which is now at the Academy in Venice, and we may infer that this drawing probably formed part of the Melzi bequest. And there is another drawing by Leonardo at Venice which by its style may be dated about 1490 and which was later reproduced in Fra Giocondo's edition of Vitruvius. We are referring to the well-known study of human proportions according to Vitruvius, representing a figure inscribed in a circle and a square, which is closely related, as Panofsky points out (pp. 109, 121, 123), to similar studies in proportion on folios 7, 8, 12, 21–24, and 29. It is possible that these drawings were inspired by a treatise on the movement of the human figure which Leonardo is reported to have written. Panofsky, while suggesting (p. 123) that our author's whole theory of human movement may be derived from Leonardo, speaks of that master's "lost or more probably unwritten book" (p. 129) on this subject.

There is, however, literary evidence that the book though lost had actually been written. The following references to it in Stefano della Bella's edition of Leonardo's *Trattato della pittura* (Florence, 1792) are suggestive: "[Leonardo] compose ancora un opera sulla meccanica del corpo umano riferendo tutto all'arti che ei professava" . . . "Della sua gran opera poi sulla meccanica del corpo umano . . . che ha per solo oggetto i movimenti del corpo umano col modo a disegnar le figure secondo le regole geometriche." That Leonardo had completed such a treatise during his first stay at Milan is stated by the mathematician Fra Luca Pacioli in a letter dated Feb. 9, 1498, and addressed to Lodovico Sforza: "[Leonardo] havendo con tutta diligentia al degno libro di pittura e movimenti humani posto fine." The letter served as an introduction to Pacioli's *De divina proportione*, a dissertation founded on the thirteenth book of Euclid's *Elements* and dealing with the five regular solids, for which Leonardo drew the illustrations. In this connection we should like to suggest that the drawing on folio 7 of our codex, showing the human figure related to two circles, a square, equilateral triangles, and to various regular polygons, was not necessarily inspired by Gothic architectural geometry, as Panofsky suggests (p. 122), and may have no direct connection with Cesariano's well-known cross-section of the cathedral of Milan³ where the geometrical pattern is based on a square and on a scheme of equilateral triangles. Our drawing, where the proportions of the figure and the gyratory movements of its limbs are related to the sides and angles of a square, of three regular polygons, and of three equilateral triangles, is so closely connected with the drawing by Leonardo in Venice mentioned above, that it may derive from a lost design by Leonardo, made at a time when he was writing the "degnio libro di pittura e di movimenti umani," and when his interest in Euclidean geometry had been aroused by his friend Fra Luca Pacioli, i.e., before 1498.

The fifth book of our codex is entitled "della Prospettiva." In a general introduction on folio 87 the eye is praised as the noblest and most spiritual organ of man, and the science of perspective as the noblest of all sciences. This reminds one of certain passages in Leonardo's *Paragone*. Then follow four sheets with drawings illustrating the problems of illumination by the sun, the moon, and by candlelight. These sheets are obviously insertions, as Panofsky points out (p. 12), for they differ in size and quality of paper from the rest; while the subject of folio 87 is continued on folio 92.⁴ The compiler

3. *Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione de Architettura libri decem . . . comentato et affigurato da Cesare Cesariano*, Como, 1521, fol. xv^r. Panofsky gives Cesariano's explanation of this cross-section in translation, while quoting the Latin text in a footnote. There is no mention of polygons in the Latin text and the rendering of "quae a tricono (misprint for trigono) et quadrato aut alio quovismodo perveniunt" by "[lines] as constitute triangles, squares or other polygons of all descriptions" is an interpretation of Cesariano's thought. A closer translation would be "[lines] which come from a triangle or a square or (originate) in any other way whatever."

4. In our opinion the text is continuous, though Panofsky supposes that a number of folios are missing (pp. 16, 60).

evidently inserted these drawings as an afterthought with the idea that they might serve as illustrations to his panegyric on the sun on folio 87^v, where the light of the sun is called the eye of the world illuminating all things and operating very much like the visual rays that radiate from the eye in the art of perspective. The inclusion of a dissertation on light and shade would have been in accordance with the Leonardesque tradition; thus in the *Trattato della Pittura*,⁵ compiled by Melzi from Leonardo's manuscripts, the fifth book also deals with Light, Shade, and Perspective. The somewhat dramatic drawing (folio 90^r) showing large shadows thrown on the walls of a room which is illuminated by a candle, might serve as an illustration to such statements by Leonardo as: "The spaces occupied by the shadows caused by a small luminous body are of the same size and shape as those not reached by the visual rays (if the eye were in the position of the luminous body)."⁶ "In practice of perspective the same rules apply to light and to the eye."⁷ The drawing showing the shadows of a human figure cast by the sun (folio 88^r) on a wall recalls Leonardo's statement: "The first picture consisted of only one line which outlined the shadow of a man cast by the sun on a wall,"⁸ while the drawings concerning the apparent size of the sun (folio 91^r) surely illustrate Leonardo's astronomical investigations: "Why the sun appears larger when setting than at noon, when it is near us. Every object seen through a curved medium seems to be of larger size than it is."⁹

The rest of the fifth book is devoted to problems of linear perspective, which are described as "the diversity of the collocation of objects according to the angles caused by the eye and the objects with reference to three principal points of view" (p. 58). The three views are the normal view when the object is seen on a level with the beholder, the bird's-eye view, when the object is seen from above, and the worm's-eye view when it is seen from below.

In the numerous illustrations the point of sight is conceived as located in the center of a spherical field of vision whence the visual rays radiate. This is the Euclidian conception described also by Vitruvius, who speaks of the point of sight as the center of a circle such as that formed by the horizon round the spectator. It was a conception known also to Leonardo;¹⁰ and it was therefore not as unique a feature in Renaissance perspective as Panofsky supposes (p. 99). In this connection we should like to recall the existence at that time of another treatise by Leonardo which can no longer be traced and which the owner, Benvenuto Cellini, described as "the finest discourse on perspective that was ever invented, for Leonardo had found the rules for foreshortening not only the longitudes but also the lati-

tude and altitude, and had explained them with such fine facility and method that everybody who saw them became very proficient."¹¹

However, as Panofsky indicates (p. 99), the part (fols. 100-128) which deals with the rules of linear perspective as applied to the human figure cannot be traced to any existing source, and is therefore a unique feature of our codex. Given a normal profile view of a figure, the artist is made to deduce the bird's-eye and worm's-eye views of the front and back. The procedure is analogous to that adopted by architects who, given the elevation, deduce the plan, or given plan and elevation deduce the perspective view by orthographic projection. But here the task is more difficult, for the artist has to deal with the complicated structure of the human figure placed in a variety of poses, and he reveals an astonishing power of visualizing and memorizing. The logical and systematic procedure, which is here revealed to us, for the construction of figures in a great variety of poses seen from different points of view, must have proved very useful in composing the historical pictures of that period. Such work presupposed a training very different from that of the modern artist who concentrates on the direct rendering of actual visual impressions in working from a model. The author's preference for foreshortened views was in conformity with a tendency in the Milanese School which was no doubt inspired by the works of Mantegna at Mantua and Padua. Bramantino, for instance, liked to introduce startling and unusual aspects of the human figure in his paintings. He wrote a treatise on perspective from which the following theorem is quoted by Lomazzo: "Nothing is to be represented of which the artist does not know the exact size, from near and from a distance, as a whole and in all its parts." Another Lombard painter, Gaudenzio Ferrari, reveals a similar delight in foreshortened views in the charming decoration of the cupola at Saronno, with angels playing musical instruments seen from the worm's-eye point of view.

The question of the identity of the author of the Codex Huygens is answered by Panofsky with the suggestion that he may have been Aurelio Luini, whose knowledge of anatomy and perspective are praised by Lomazzo, and who was the owner of a cartoon and of a collection of caricatures by Leonardo. In order to facilitate comparison Panofsky reproduces two drawings by Aurelio Luini, one at Dresden and one in the Uffizi (figs. 76, 77); but it would seem that their style is less direct and sure than that of the codex drawings, and that the figures lack the distinct articulation of parts which is so marked a characteristic of the latter. Another artist mentioned by Panofsky (pp. 86-87) as a possible author of the codex is Ambrogio Figino, a pupil of Lomazzo. We should like to propose that there is perhaps a better, if still tentative, case for this artist in this connection than Panofsky is prepared to admit. Figino too had grown up under the spell of Leonardo's influence, was owner of a number of his drawings, and at the dispersal of the Melzi bequest

5. *Trattato della pittura*, ed. H. Ludwig, Vienna, 1872.

6. J. P. Richter, *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, 2nd ed., London, 1939, no. 72A.

7. *Ibid.*, no. 72.

8. *Trattato*, no. 126.

9. Richter, *op. cit.*, no. 889.

10. Compare Richter, *op. cit.*, no. 86, which deals with the same subject as folios 93-97 of the Codex Huygens and where an arc is drawn to represent the base of the pyramid of sight; cf. also nos. 107, 108.

11. Jacopo Morelli, *I codici manoscritti volgari della Libreria Naniiana*, Venice, 1776, p. 158.

secured one of the original manuscripts for himself.¹² His paintings reveal an interest in the problems of foreshortening. Note the postures of the sleeping apostles seen from above in his picture of *Christ on the Mount of Olives* in the Matsvansky collection, formerly at Vienna, and the curious bird's-eye view of the advanced foot in his portrait of Lucio Foppa at the Brera. These renderings recall the last section of our codex. In Figino's painting of Sant' Ambrogio at the Castello Sforzesco, the horse with its bulging eyes recalls the drawings of horses in the codex, which, though copied from Leonardo, lack that master's spirited touch. Moreover, there is similarity in the treatment of drapery in the codex and in these paintings. Figino was an able draughtsman and his drawings are much sought after. A batch of them, which included some copies after Leonardo, made its appearance in Venice recently in the possession of the Italian painter Ferruccio Ferruzzi and was sold at an auction in Vienna.¹³ Probably, then, the question of the authorship of the codex will lead to further comparisons and inquiries before it can be finally settled.

This volume is of interest to students on more than one account. First and foremost, because it contains at least nineteen copies from lost Leonardo drawings, because it recalls two lost treatises by Leonardo, and because it throws new light on the history of his manuscripts. Furthermore, it is an exposition of Renaissance methods of artistic design, parts of which are not to be found in any other treatise on this subject. Professor Panofsky, who in former publications has done much to stimulate the study of artistic technique, is herewith making one more important contribution, to be welcomed alike by artists, students of the Milanese school in particular, and art historians in general.

IRMA A. RICHTER

WILLIAM SENER RUSK, *William Henry Rinehart, Sculptor*, Baltimore, Norman T. A. Munger, 1939. Pp. xii + 143; 24 plates.

At a time when the future of the visual arts seems to rest so largely in the hands of America, it becomes important to determine the directions and qualities of this country's art in the past. Any such study reveals at once how pitifully inadequate has been serious research on American painters and sculptors. The preoccupation of American art historians with European and Asiatic traditions has left the criticism of American art to amateurs and dilettantes.

While periodical articles abound, incredibly few of these can lay any claim to seriousness. For adequate general accounts of American sculpture one can only turn to Post's *History of European and American Sculpture* and to Lorado Taft's *History of American Sculpture*. The former, although by an art historian, substitutes too frequently pleasant description for precise stylistic analysis; while the latter, from the hand of a fine sculptor and teacher, is essentially a monument to the kindly personality

and all-encompassing tolerance of its author. It is difficult to think of any respectable biography of an American sculptor other than Homer Saint-Gaudens' life of Augustus Saint-Gaudens.

The appearance of Professor Rusk's biography of William Henry Rinehart, an objective treatment of an important sculptor by a competent art scholar, is then something of an event. This volume, the result of a long study of the artist, attacks biographical details with great energy and adequacy. An account of Rinehart's life is followed by a reprinting of the bulk of his extant letters. A catalogue of sculptures, a brief "criticism of Rinehart's works," a chapter on the Rinehart scholars, and several appendices, chiefly bibliographical, make up the rest of the book.

Little criticism can be made of Professor Rusk's methods or results in the biographical phases of this study. Letters, newspaper comments, anecdotes of friends and relatives have been collected with a painstaking thoroughness that results in an admirably detailed picture of Rinehart's life and even his genealogy. It is perhaps to be regretted that no more information could be gathered concerning his Roman years, the period that was most decisive in his formation as an artist.

It is, in fact, entirely in this regard—in the curiously inadequate portrait of Rinehart as an artist—that the limitations of the book lie. Rinehart, as Professor Rusk is well aware, was the most talented of the early American sculptors and also occupied a key position as a transitional figure between American neo-classicism and naturalism. He was the perfect type of the first American artists, the rough naturalism of whose native style was polished but never entirely obliterated by long exposure to the European classic tradition. Beyond the merest indication of these facts, no effort is made by Rusk to describe Rinehart's actual development or in what exact respects he formed a link between Powers and Saint-Gaudens. The "criticism of Rinehart's works" is limited to three pages, and in the critical passages included in the catalogue the author leans far too heavily on the rarely penetrating descriptions of Lorado Taft. Professor Rusk's diffidence in analysis is the more curious as in those passages where he deserts his authorities and speaks out for himself, he exhibits a complete awareness of the problems involved in stylistic criticism.

The other questions that can be raised in connection with this study are perhaps minor ones. Rinehart followed, as the author points out, the deplorable neo-classic and modern technique of working with plaster casts from which several replicas in stone and bronze could be made; this is the technique that is so largely responsible for contemporary sculptors' indifference to surface effects. Yet despite the historical importance of the artist's technique, Professor Rusk makes only incidental reference to his manner of working and leaves unanswered questions such as in what degree he was himself responsible for the marble versions—questions most pertinent to any analysis of his style.

Finally, as the volume is an excellently designed and printed press book, it may not be impertinent to

12. See Don Ambrogio Mazzenta's memorandum (Richter, *op. cit.*, II, 394). This manuscript is now lost and there is no record of its subject matter.

13. I owe this information to Professor W. Suida.

say a word concerning the quality of the plates. Sculpture suffers more from photography than the other major arts, and so more care should be exercised in its reproduction. Unfortunately, the plates are here subordinated to the format of the book to a degree that makes many of them quite useless for the study of the sculptures.

The book as a whole remains an important addition to our knowledge of a major American sculptor and performs admirably its task of bringing to light the details of William Rinehart's life. It is to be hoped that Professor Rusk will follow it with another volume that examines in more detail Rinehart's actual accomplishment as a sculptor.

H. HARVARD ARNASON
The Frick Collection

G. H. HARDY, *A Mathematician's Apology*, Cambridge, University Press, 1941. Pp. 93.

Everyone knows that mathematicians sometimes speak of perfectly formulated equations as "beautiful" and are excited by them as the connoisseur is excited by works of art. The present volume will be of the greatest interest and value to "aestheticians," since it is here for the first time that the "beauty" of mathematics has been discussed by a mathematician. Professor Hardy's analysis of this beauty is penetrating and illuminating, and in welcome contrast to the vagueness that is so characteristic of most modern writings on the criteria of beauty in other kinds of art.

"A mathematician, like a painter or a poet, is a maker of patterns. . . . The mathematician's patterns, like the painter's or the poet's, must be *beautiful*; the ideas, like the colours or the words must fit together in a harmonious way. Beauty is the first test: there is no permanent place in the world for ugly mathematics" (pp. 24, 25). "The best mathematics is *serious* as well as beautiful. . . . The beauty of a mathematical theorem *depends* a great deal on its seriousness. . . . A 'serious' theorem is a theorem that contains 'significant' ideas . . . [for which]. . . . There are two things at any rate that seem essential, a certain *generality* and a certain *depth*" (pp. 29-43). By generality it is meant "That the relations revealed by the proof should be such as to connect many different mathematical ideas . . . [not one of] the isolated curiosities in which arithmetic abounds" (p. 44).¹ Depth "has something to do with *difficulty*; the deeper ideas are usually the harder to grasp" (p. 49). In such beautiful theorems as those propounded by Euclid and Pythagoras "there is a very high degree of *unexpectedness*, combined with *inevitability* and *economy* . . . the weapons used seem so childishly simple compared with the far-reaching results; but there is no escape from the conclusions" (p. 53). And thus Professor Hardy is

1. The bearing of this upon the notion of art as the record of an impression or effect is obvious. An art form can only be called "serious" when it subsumes many single instances. The Trundholm sun-wheel is serious, but a still life of a particular wagon wheel in a particular light is trivial. The Japanese are justified in not taking their *ukiyo* "seriously."

"interested in mathematics only as a creative art" (p. 55).

Having so well defined what are in fact the essentials in any art, the author, who seems to be acquainted only with modern ("aesthetic") conceptions of art, naturally rates the beauty of mathematics above that of "art." He quotes without protest Housman's "Poetry is not the thing said but a way of saying it"—a pronouncement fit to make Dante or Āśvaghōṣa turn in their graves. He takes an example from Shakespeare:

Not all the water in the rough rude sea

Can wash the balm from an anointed King

and asks "Could lines be better, and could ideas be at once more trite and more false? The poverty of the ideas seems hardly to affect the beauty of the verbal pattern." What the example really proves is, not that beauty can be independent of validity, but that beauty and validity are relative. There is nothing made that can be either beautiful or apt in all contexts. "Nothing is beautiful for any other purpose than that for which that thing is adapted" (Socrates in Xenophon *Mem.* iv. 6, 9). The example also shows that no pronouncement can be true except for those to whom its truth is apparent. To any Platonist or other traditionalist, and to the reviewer Shakespeare's words are beautiful *and* true, but they are not true for Professor Hardy or in any democratic context. And where they are not true, the mere fact that the sounds of the words is liked does not make them beautiful in the sense of the tradition that maintains that "Beauty pertains to cognition"; but only "beautiful" (or rather, "lovely") to those whom Plato calls "lovers of fine colours and sounds." Professor Hardy is not one of these; he confesses ignorance of aesthetics, but all he needs to do is to apply his own mathematical standards of intelligibility and economy to other works of art, and let the Housmans say what they will. "Ideas do matter to the pattern" (p. 31).

As an "Apology," Professor Hardy's book is a defence of real or higher mathematics against those who raise objection to their uselessness (in the crude sense of the word). All he need have said is that mathematics as a whole serves needs both of the soul and of the body, like the arts of primitive man and those which Plato would have admitted to his Republic. That the higher mathematics have served his own soul well is shown by his concluding statement that, if he had a statue on a column in London, and were able to choose whether the column should be so high that the features of the statue would be invisible, or so low that they could be clearly seen, he would choose the first alternative (p. 93); and since it is man's first duty to work out his own salvation (from himself), no further defence is needed. He makes it perfectly clear that he could not have "done better" in any other field; mathematics was his vocation. He was right to be a mathematician, not because he succeeded (p. 90), but rather, he succeeded because he did "what it was his to do, by nature," which is Plato's type of "justice" and in the *Bhagavad Gītā* the way that leads to perfection.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

TO THE EDITOR FOR BOOK REVIEWS
SIR:

I should like to call attention through the pages of the ART BULLETIN to Bernard Berenson's *Pittura Italiana del Rinascimento*, translated into Italian by Emilio Cecchi and published by Ulrico Hoepli at Milan in 1936. The few American scholars who know this translation probably regard it as identical for practical purposes with the English version of 1932. Nothing could be further from the fact. In the four years intervening between the two editions the author carefully revised his lists, occasionally changed his opinion, noted shifts in location, and made considerable additions. To such a familiar list as that of Fra Angelico, there are seven additions. To the list of Giovanni Bellini there are three additions and eight other changes representing revision of opinion and shifts in location. The list for Botticelli shows three additions and four other changes.

These samples are characteristic. In short, whoever would profit to the full by Mr. Berenson's labors as a cataloguer must use the Italian version—alas! procurable with difficulty in these troubled times—or must manage to borrow it and collate it with his English *I.P.R.* May the time be not too far distant when Mr. Berenson's English publishers may be able to issue a second edition. The war will change the location of many a picture, and while Mr. Berenson himself can hardly be expected to renew the useful and self-sacrificing labor of revamping his indispensable lists, the necessary task of editorship could be accomplished in a few weeks by any competent scholar enjoying the facilities of the Frick Art Reference Library or, even better, those of Mr. Berenson's library at Settignano, which has always been hospitably open to all serious students.

FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

J. W. CROWFOOT, *Early Churches in Palestine (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1937)*, London, published for the British Academy by the Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. xiv+166; 30 plates+22 figs. \$3.25.

FRANCIS J. GECK, *Bibliography of Italian Rococo Art*, Vol. x, Boulder, Colo., Boulder Publishing Co., 1941. Pp. v+76.

ERNST E. HERZFELD, *Iran in the Ancient East*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. 363; 131 plates (8 hand-colored)+421 figs. \$40.00.

GEORGIANA GODDARD KING, *Heart of Spain*, edited by Agnes Mongan, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1941. Pp. ix+179; 10 plates. \$3.00.

SUNE LINDQVIST, *Gotlands Bildsteine I*, Stockholm, Wahlström & Widstrand, 1941. Pp. 151; 72 plates +263 figs. 35 Kr.; bound, 40 kr.

GILBERT MÉDIONI and MARIE-THÉRÈSE PINTO, *Art in Ancient Mexico, Selected and Photographed from the Collection of Diego Rivera*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. xxvi; 259 plates. \$10.00.

DAVID M. ROBINSON, *Excavations at Olynthus, Part X, Metal and Minor Miscellaneous Finds*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. Pp. xxvii +593; 171 plates+33 figs. \$20.00.

STUDIES IN THE ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE by Carl W. Blegen, Rhys Carpenter, Charles R. Morey, Francis H. Taylor, Dixon Ryan Fox, John E. Burchard, Leopold Arnaud, Theodore Spencer, Joseph Hudnut, George Howe, Frederick H. Frankland, Harvey W. Corbett. University of Pennsylvania Bicentennial Conference. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941. \$1.25.

WERNER WEISBACH, *Spanish Baroque Art (Three Lectures Delivered at the University of London)*, Cambridge, University Press, 1941; New York, The Macmillan Co., 1941. Pp. xi+65; 67 figs. \$2.25.

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL, *Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the Eleventh Century*, London, Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. xxix+307; 120 plates, 117 figs., 3 maps. \$17.50.

